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A study of the museum as an organizational context for the fine arts was undertaken (1) to understand how such an organization defines its role, maintains its standards, and copes with its social environment, and (2) to evaluate the statement by critics of contemporary culture that the fine arts and organizations supporting them are declining. Data were gathered from interviews, questionnaires, and 2 years of observation of all aspects of museum activity at the Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester. Differentiation was made between the departments responsible for day-to-day activities and the formal authority of the Board of Directors and the Women's Guild. For each part of the museum's organization, an examination was made of the structures and norms of the part, its definitions of the roles and goals of the organization, its conflicts with other parts, and its effect on the whole. Conclusions reached were that (1) the organization of the museum is exceedingly complex, and (2) the theory of the mass-culture critics should be rejected since the museum is continuing to survive and, generally, to increase in size. (LH)

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FINAL REPORT

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THE MUSEUM: A SOCIAL CONTEXT FOR ART

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The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a small contract with the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

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SUMMARY

Critics of contemporary culture, especially those associated with the theory of mass culture, tend to pessimism regarding the ability of modern society to sustain and encourage the fine arts. The organizational forms of contemporary society are viewed by these critics as detrimental to the fine arts. Conceptualizing the organization of contemporary society into categories of elites and masses, these critics assert that neither of these social groups has the ability to sustain or encourage artists or organizations devoted to the fine arts. Either the elites tend to dominate the masses and enforce their attitudes or opinions or the masses dominate the elites and enforce a "mass" taste and viewpoint. The artists meanwhile retreat from the centers of social power, becoming alienated and unproductive; organizations devoted to the fine arts become dominated by the dry rot of professionalization and academicism, the social snobbism of the elites or the mass taste of the masses. According to such an analysis, an organization like the Museum is doomed to extinction or mediocrity.

This research has attempted, in some small measure, to assess the validity of such a position. A study of a museum - an organization devoted to the fine arts - was undertaken not only to evaluate the theory and conceptual analysis of the critics of contemporary culture, but also to come to some understanding of the way in which such an organization defines its role, maintains its standards, and copes with its social environment.

The results of the study disclose the great complexity of the Museum as a social environment for the fine arts. The organizational form of the Museum is complex, including both lay and professional departments and reflecting the complexity of differing professional services and responsibilities. It was mandatory to make a distinction between core and complementary parts of the formal organization, the core organization including the professional and lay departments of the Museum - those parts of the organization responsible for the day-to-day activities and the pursuit of the goals of the Museum - and the complementary organization being those parts added to the basically professional staff and constituting the formal authority of the Museum - the Board of Directors and the Women's Guild. In all cases, the formal and the informal structure and norms of these different parts of the organization were analyzed, their definitions of the roles and goals of the organization specified, the conflicts between and among the different parts examined, and the effects of the different parts on the whole evaluated. That the organization is complex is attested to by the fact that no summary can do justice to the findings.

One of the most important aspects of the study was the analysis of the role of the professional within the Museum. The professional is primarily loyal to his profession and to his organization rather than to the community. Hence, even when the Museum depends on the public support of the community, the professionals play a complex role with greater identification with their professional standards and ethos than with the community's standards. The effects of the professional on the Museum and the potential for conflict between community interests and definitions and those of the professional are examined. The professional code of ethics and what is called herein the professional rhetoric are detailed.

The research project included a two-and-one-half-year observation and participant-observer study of all aspects of Museum activities, interviews with professional and lay staff members, questionnaire sampling of the membership, artists and craftsmen of the community, and other publics, and the interviewing of other members of what might be called the cultural elite of the area. In each case the different expectations and definitions of the role of the Museum are examined and contrasted to that of the formal-organization members.

The conclusions reached point tentatively to the rejection of the theory of the mass-culture critics concerning the fine arts, both in large and small terms. The research indicates that not only the problems of the fine arts but also organizations devoted to the fine arts are too complex to be subsumed under the simplistic conceptual terms and theories of the critics of mass culture.

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INTRODUCTION I

THE GENERAL THEORY

To do research concerning the organizational context of the fine arts in contemporary American society commits the investigator to an examination of the theory of mass culture. The wealth of materials concerning this problem - the research and the arguments both for and against mass culture - induce an expectation in the researcher that a theoretical framework will be conveniently available and that relevant research will be both ready-at-hand and pertinent. Such expectations are chimerical. Much of the discussion is so polemical that it is difficult to separate political bias from adequate hypothesis.[1] It is often difficult to distinguish the various uses and their implications for research of the basic vocabulary of the theory of mass culture. Such terms as "culture," "mass" or "popular culture" and "high culture," "elite" and "mass" have both utility for research and liabilities considering their often value-laden connotations within the colloquy. Like Harold Wilensky,

> I count myself as one of the critics, but I am restive about the way the debate has progressed. The parties talk past one another and ideological blinders obstruct the vision far more than in other areas of sociological investigation.[2]

---

[1] See the following for suggestions about the apposition of political values and attitudes toward mass culture or mass society: Daniel Bell, "America as Mass Society: A Critique," The End of Ideology, Collier Books (New York: The Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, 1962), p. 21 f.; Leon Bramson, The Political Context of Sociology (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961); Herbert J. Gans, "Popular Culture in America: Social Problem in a Mass Society or Social Asset in a Pluralistic Society?," Social Problems - A Modern Approach, Howard S. Becker, ed. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966), p. 549 f.; William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1959); Edward Shils, "Daydreams and Nightmares," Sewanee Review, Vol. 65, No. 4, (Autumn, 1957), p. 587 f.

[2] Harold L. Wilensky, "Mass Society and Mass Culture: Interdependence or Independence," American Sociological Review, Vol. 29, No. 2 (April, 1964), p. 175.

Because the theories and research relating to mass culture are so ubiquitous that no researcher can approach the study of a problem within the purview of the theories without being influenced by them, their adequacy must be considered. The first task, then, in delimiting the area of investigation is an examination of the theories of mass culture as these pertain to an organization ostensibly dedicated to the maintenance of the fine arts - an art museum. Such an examination will indicate the major ideas regarding the position and organization of the fine arts in contemporary society, the evidence adduced to support or challenge such ideas, and the implications of such theory and evidence for the specific study.[1]

Included under the rubric of mass-culture theory are those arguments attacking the quality of contemporary culture as well as those defending it. In this research I am primarily concerned with the attacks on the quality of the cultural and fine art institutions because these formulations constitute a more or less coherent body of theory.[1] Those who argue in support of contemporary cultural institutions usually address specific problems posed by their opponents. Consequently the theory of those defending the institutions does not manifest the degree of coherence or the systematic quality of the theory of those attacking the institutions. However, I strongly suspect that this coherence and orderliness is spurious, that it is the consequence of an oversimplification of the manner in which very complex variables relate to one another.[2]

---

[1] In this paper I use a definition of culture based on the work of Talcott Parsons although I make no assumptions about the systematization of cultural elements. Whether or not elements combine in any systematic way, I feel, should be left open - a problem to be determined by empirical investigation. Closing such an issue buries important conflicts within a "system". "Cultural objects are symbolic elements of the cultural tradition, ideas, or beliefs, expressive symbols or value patterns..." Talcott Parsons, The Social System (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1951), p. 4.

When culture is used as a general term, the values and standards, the attitudes and the symbolic content of either a particular institutional area or all of the areas within a society is understood.

> The fundamental categories of cultural life are the same in all societies. In all the different strata of any given society, the effort to explore and explain the universe, to understand the meaning of events, to enter into contact with the sacred or to commit sacrilege, to affirm the principles of morality and justice and to deny them, to encounter the unknown, to exalt or denigrate authority, to stir the senses by the control of and response to words, sounds, shapes, and colors - these are the basic elements of cultural existence.

Edward Shils, "Mass Society and Its Culture," Daedalus, Vol. 89, No. 2, (Spring, 1960), p. 290.

For most writers considered in this section, the focus of theory and research is the survival of the fine arts. For most critics the survival of the fine arts in contemporary societies is problematic. The fine arts are threatened with extinction by the processes of mass society and by the impact of mass or popular culture. In general, the critics associate the origin of this problem with the processes of modernization - industrialization, urbanization, democratization and the development of the techniques of mass production and mass communications. And many of the critics are prepared to go even further in their claim. Once engendered, the forces created by mass culture joined with the processes of modernization "pave the way to totalitarianism" and the total debasement of the fine arts. For instance,

---

[1] From this point on in the paper, those writers attacking the quality of modern culture will be named the critics; those making a defense for modern culture will be named the defenders. Of those who write in defense of modern cultural institutions, few have attempted to synthesize their positions or to formulate a theory in order to focus their criticisms of the critics. Edward Shils, "Mass Society and Its Culture," Daedalus, Vol. 89, No. 2, (Spring, 1960), p. 288 f., and Gans, "Popular Culture in America," represent such attempts. Other writers have attempted systematic criticism of aspects of the argument: Kornhauser (The Politics of Mass Society) and Bramson (The Political Context of Sociology)have detailed the political and ideological content of the mass-culture controversy; Raymond and Alice Bauer ("America, Mass Society and Mass Media," The Journal of Social Issues, Vol. XVI, No. 3, /1960/, p. 3f.) have attempted to order the massive materials surrounding the problem of the place and effect of the mass media; Raymond Williams (Culture and Society: 1780-1950, Anchor Books /Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1960/) has analyzed literary and social criticism as it applies to the mass-culture problem.

[2] This is not to deny differences in theory among the critics. See below.

> ...our cultural life is threatened from two sides: it is exposed to certain definite dangers, as long as democratic mass society in the liberal sense is allowed to function without guidance or control; but it encounters still greater dangers when dictatorial supplant liberal forms. To these two facts, therefore, a third should be added, namely that these same social causes which bring about cultural disintegration in liberal society, themselves prepare the way for dictatorship.[1]
>
> At its worst, mass culture threatens not merely to cretinize our taste but to brutalize our senses while paving the way to totalitarianism.[2]
>
> If one can hazard a single positive formulation (in the form of a hypothesis) it would be that modern technology is the necessary and sufficient cause of mass culture.[3]
>
> The decline of the individual in the mechanized working processes of modern civilization brings about the emergence of mass culture, which replaces folk art or "high" art.[4]
>
> Mass culture is an urban product. Confined to the close spaces of a city, members of an industrial society must always face the disturbing problem of what to do with their leisure time, how to organize it in relation to their work day.[5]

---

[1] Karl Mannheim, Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950), p. 80.

[2] Bernard Rosenberg, "Mass Culture in America," in Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White, eds. , Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 9.

[3] Ibid., p. 12.

[4] Leo Lowenthal, "Historical Perspectives of Popular Culture," ibid., p. 55.

[5] Irving Howe, "Notes on Mass Culture," ibid., p. 496.

> The increased income and power, the shortened worktime of the lower income groups, the mechanization of work, the increased mobility, the lessened social distances, the weakened and abridged primary groups, and finally the rise of mass communication - all these things are direct effects of industrialization and direct causes of the erosion of folk and high culture.[1]

As Hannah Arendt laconically phrases the problem -

> ...mass culture is the culture of mass society. And mass society, whether we like it or not, is going to stay with us into the foreseeable future.[2]

Such assertions pose important theoretical and analytic problems. In the first place the equation of modern society with mass society has often been challenged.

> That mass society is the result of the rise of liberalism and the social and cultural by-product of the process of urbanization and industrialization is itself an exceedingly ambiguous notion. Those who hold that mass society causes totalitarianism must deal with the obvious fact that totalitarianism came to Russia, a backward and relatively underdeveloped nation, as well as to urbanized and industrialized Germany, and that it has not made its appearance in the other such urbanized and industrialized nations as England and the United States.[3]

And William Kornhauser's study of the structural bases of modern society concluded that not one - the mass model - but several models of modern society must be distinguished: mass, pluralistic and totalitarian. Furthermore, in a detailed analysis of the way such variables as industrialism, urbanization, and community relate to mass society, he discovered no positive association.[4]

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[1] Ralph Ross and Ernest Van Den Haag, The Fabric of Society (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1957), p. 169.

[2] Hannah Arendt, "Society and Culture," Daedalus, Vol. 89, No. 2 (Spring 1960), p. 278.

[3] Bramson, The Political Context of Sociology, p. 36.

[4] Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society, p. 39f. and p. 159f.

A corollary of the assertion that contemporary society is mass society is found in the generalization that the culture of mass society is mass culture - a uniform, standard and homogeneous culture for all urbanized, industrialized and democratized societies. The culture of contemporary society, then, is mass or popular culture.

> Mass culture is not the culture of a class or group throughout history. It is the culture of nearly everybody today, and of nearly nobody yesterday...[1]

The underlying assumption of this argument is that culture is a dependent variable - dependent on the social structure for its form and content. And since, according to the critics, the structure of mass society lacks independent groups - stable primary and secondary groups - based on social class, ethnicity, race or any other means of social differentiation, there is a consequent lack of cultural differentiation. The pluralistic cultures of the past are replaced by the uniform culture of contemporary mass society.

> Contemporary man commonly finds that his life has been emptied of meaning, that it has been trivialized. He is alienated from his past, from his work, from his community, and possibly from himself...[2]
>
> ...most contacts are casual and transitory... They do not replace personal relationship to things or people but make it harder for them to grow... Industrialization also grinds down the autonomy and intensity, the numerical size, the duration, and the functions of primary groups such as the family, and expands the role of fluid secondary groups. The influence of mass media rises correspondingly. The unprecedented spread of formal mass education contributes to the readiness for change. Education brings together the offspring of heterogeneous groups and subjects them to a homogenizing curriculum.

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[1] Ernest Van Den Haag, "A Dissent from the Consensual Society," Daedalus, Vol. 89, No. 2 (Spring, 1960), p. 316.

[2] Rosenberg, "Mass Culture in America," p. 7.

> The main effect is to weaken any differentiating heritage and to prepare each generation for mobility in pursuit of ambitions, such as success or happiness, by means of the newest techniques.[1]

> The tendency of modern industrial society, whether in the USA or the USSR , is to transform the individual into the mass man. For the masses are in historical time what a crowd is in space: a large quantity of people unable to express their human qualities because they are related to each other neither as individuals nor as members of a community. In fact they are not related to each other at all but only to some impersonal, abstract, crystallizing factor.[2]

The social relationships of contemporary society lack differentiation, so the argument goes; therefore the culture reflects such a lack by its qualities of monotony, homogeneity, blandness, standardization, uniformity.

> The lack of variety of local groups is associated with the lack of variety of local cultures, and, correlatively, the existence of mass relations is associated with the presence of mass standards... Cultural differentiation requires social differentiation... Since mass society tends to lack a variegated group life, it favors cultural uniformity.[3]

Such a position raises a substantive question concerning the pluralistic or uniform nature of the culture of contemporary society. Such a question can be resolved empirically but only when the definition of culture being used is scrutinized carefully and when both parties to the argument are using the same definition. It seems to me that the critics use the term "culture" in two different ways: it is used to signify a "distinct pattern of living" and also, and differently, the "values and standards of the fine arts." In the first usage, culture is the style of life of contemporary society - mass culture - or the style of life of the upper classes and the peasants of pre-industrial society - high culture and folk culture.

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[1] Ross and Van Den Haag, The Fabric of Society, pp. 168-169.

[2] Macdonald, Against the American Grain, (New York: Random House, 1962), p. 8. Emphasis is the author's.

[3] Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society, pp. 102-103.

> This threefold classification is meant to be exhaustive. However much cultures differ, they fall into one or more of these types. For instance, all American Indian cultures were folk cultures; and Europe had a combination of folk and high cultures in antiquity and from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century. Note that folk cultures fall in the first half of the usual dichotomies (Weber's "traditionalistic-rationalistic"; Tönnies' "community-society"; Redfield's "folk-secular"; Becker's "sacred-secular"). The second half of the dichotomies is one characteristic of all popular cultures. High cultures, finally, straddle the dichotomies by growing from the first into the second half. But the process affects only a small stratum of society - unless it is spread through industrialization. When this occurs, popular culture replaces both high and folk culture. Finally, note that some elements of each culture type are usually contained in the other. Thus, wherever there was an urban proletariat, or some form of mass production, there also were elements of popular culture. But they did not prevail until the machine age came.[1]

Both folk and high culture are "genuine" cultures, in such a reading, while the culture of contemporary society - mass culture - is a "spurious" culture. Genuine cultures reflect the social relationships of the social organization and are shared by all the individual members of the society. A genuine culture is a "gemeinschaft" culture - a community of like experiences and shared beliefs. This is a very broad definition of culture, similar to the anthropological definition as a totality of belief systems or the total way of life of a group. There has been considerable criticism within anthropology and sociology of definitions of culture which stress uniformity of belief and values within even small-scale societies.[1] And it is questionable that the cultures of pre-industrial European societies - both high and folk - display any more consensus or community attributes than such small-scale primitive societies.

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[1] Ross and Van Den Haag, The Fabric of Society, p. 169, f.n. See also Macdonald, Against the American Grain, pp. 13-14.

Such a theoretical position prematurely closes the discussion of whether or not different cultures (here, patterns for living) do in fact exist within contemporary society. The question of whether the same basic social structure - say, high-status occupations - involves a uniform pattern of living or a variety of patterns is sealed off from study by this theoretical bias. The clear assumption is simply that modern society is mass society and that the culture of mass society is mass culture. Such a theoretical position and such a broad and sweeping definition of culture lead nowhere empirically. In order to study the problem of whether or not there are distinct patterns of living within contemporary society, a narrower and less inclusive definition of culture must be utilized; the assessment of culture as a dependent variable must be relinquished in order to get at the complex interaction between social structure and culture; a distinction between fine art and culture must be maintained.

At the same time another definition of culture is used, occasionally along with this first definition. The second definition limits the term to the standards and values of the fine arts - culture thus becomes the fine arts. That which is not "fine art" is consequently not culture; that which is not fine art is not art. Again there is a reading into the argument of a distinction between a genuine and a spurious culture - although here limited to the arts. The fine arts are genuine art and genuine culture; the mass or popular arts are neither.

---

[1] Bramson, The Political Context of Sociology, Chaps. 2 and 3. See also the controversy surrounding Robert Redfield's discussion of folk society. Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LII (January, 1947), pp. 293-308. Horace Miner, "The Folk-Urban Continuum," American Sociological Review, Vol. 17, (October, 1952), pp. 529-537. Gideon Sjoberg, "Folk and Feudal Societies," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LVIII (November, 1952), pp. 231-239. Oscar Lewis, "Tepoztlán Restudied," Seymour Martin Lipset and Neil J. Smelser, eds., Sociology, The Progress of a Decade (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1961), pp. 623-635.

> The counterconcept to popular culture is art.[1]
>
> All this (the industrial revolution and popular culture) is, at bottom, the opposite of the world of the arts, where commercial and scientific progress do not exist...[2]

There is a virtual litany of set responses to distinguish the fine arts from the popular arts or high culture from popular culture in this narrow sense. If the fine arts depend on individual ingenuity and individual response, the popular arts depend on their opposites - machine production and mass responses. If fine arts encourage genuine experiences, the popular arts give a spurious gratification. Art demands an effort; popular art is effortless. Standardization, stereotypy, mendacity and conservatism characterize the popular as against the fine arts.

Such an argument attempts to define art by a set of necessary and sufficient properties, an all-or-nothing classification into dichotomous classes of art and non-art. The vagaries of aesthetic theory are tribute to the difficulty of such a task, notwithstanding the seeming ease of argument found among the critics of contemporary culture.

> A concept is open if its conditions of application are emendable and corrigible; that is, if a situation or case can be imagined or secured which would call for some sort of decision on our part to extend the use of the concept

---

[1] Lowenthal, "Historical Perspectives of Popular Culture," p. 49.

[2] Randall Jarrell, "A Sad Heart at the Supermarket," Daedalus, Vol. 89, No. 2, (Spring, 1960) p. 364.

to cover this, or to close the concept and invent a new one to deal with the new case and its new property. If necessary and sufficient conditions for the application of a concept can be stated, the concept is a closed one. But this can happen only in logic or mathematics where concepts are constructed and completely defined. It cannot occur with empirically-descriptive and normative concepts unless we arbitrarily close them by stipulating the ranges of their uses.

"Art," itself, is an open concept. New conditions (cases) have constantly arisen and will undoubtedly constantly arise; new art forms, new movements will emerge, which will demand decisions on the part of those interested, usually professional critics, as to whether the concept should be extended or not. Estheticians may lay down similarity conditions but never necessary and sufficient ones for the correct application of the concept. With "art" its conditions of application can never be exhaustively enumerated since new cases can always be envisaged or created by artists, or even nature, which would call for a decision on someone's part to extend or to close the old or to invent a new concept. (For example, "It's not a sculpture, it's a mobile.")

What I am arguing, then, is that the very expansive, adventurous character of art, its ever-present changes and novel creations, makes it logically impossible to ensure any set of defining properties. We can, of course, choose to close the concept. But to do this with "art" or "tragedy" or "portraiture," etc., is ludicrous since it forecloses on the very conditions of creativity in the arts.

Of course there are legitimate and serviceable closed concepts in art. But these are always those whose boundaries of conditions have been drawn for a special purpose. Consider the difference, for example, between "tragedy" and "(extant) Greek tragedy." The first is open and must remain so to allow for the possibility of new conditions, for example, a play in which the hero is not noble or fallen or in which there is no hero but other elements that are like those of plays we already call "tragedy." The second is closed. The plays it can be applied to, the conditions under which it can be correctly used are all in, once the boundary, "Greek," is drawn.[1]

---

[1] Morris Weitz, "The Role of Theory in Esthetics," Melvin Rader, ed., A Modern Book of Esthetics (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), pp. 204-206.

Whichever definition of culture is used, there are inherent problems in the inclusiveness of the broad "pattern of living" definition and in the exclusive nature of both definitions. At the very worst, the student investigating the social position of the fine arts in contemporary society may discover that his subject matter has evaporated.

> The highest level that humanist culture seems to be able to attain under this new kind of leisure is the middlebrow.[1]
>
> Masscult is a dynamic, revolutionary force, breaking down the old barriers of class, tradition, and taste, dissolving all cultural distinctions. It mixes, scrambles everything together, producing what might be called homogenized culture...[2]

Or at the very best, the student finds that he is dealing with the fine arts as a residual category.

> As society becomes fully industrialized, popular culture becomes the most universally shared type of culture and colors most aspects of individual and social life. High and folk culture retain only marginal influence on private and social life. They become islands lapped at and often swamped by popular culture. They are isolated and dry up in institutions or regions cut off from social development. If they are not isolated, high and folk culture tend to become denatured.[3]
>
> Today artistic products are losing their character of spontaneity more and more and are being replaced by the phenomena of popular culture.[4]

---

[1] Clement Greenberg, "Work and Leisure under Industrialism," Eric Larrabee, ed., Mass Leisure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958) p. 40.

[2] Macdonald, Against the American Grain, pp. 11-12.

[3] Ernest Van Den Haag, "Of Happiness and Despair We Have No Measure," Rosenberg and White, eds., Mass Culture, p. 508.

[4] Lowenthal, "Historical Perspectives of Popular Culture," p. 49.

Assuming that high culture was the pattern of living of a distinct social group of pre-industrial times, since that social group is no longer extant in society, and since cultural differentiation depends on social differentiation, within contemporary society, the critics conclude, there is no high culture. If the student is interested in studying culture, he must turn to popular culture, such an attitude would imply.[1] Furthermore, since partial or part-time interest in the fine arts does not make a "pattern of living" devoted to such high culture, there is no high culture within modern society. There is no community based on the shared values of the fine arts; therefore there is no high culture in contemporary society. Such is the position of those authors who insist on high culture's being a shared gemeinschaft culture - a pattern of living based on the fine arts.

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[1] In fact, this does seem to be happening. Compared to the bulk of research and writing on popular art and entertainment forms, the fine arts have been given little attention. In a review of the book Mass Culture, edited by Rosenberg and White, used extensively in this chapter, Harold Rosenberg, the art critic, comments as follows:

> I confess that one of the reasons I hope that the wares of the cultural supermarket will henceforth be left for their proper customers is that I find something annoying about the mentality of those who keep handling the goods while denying any appetite for them...
>
> The common argument of the mass-culture intellectuals that they have come not to bathe in the waters but to register the degree of its pollution does not impress me. I believe they play in this stuff because they like it, including those who dislike what they like. I never heard of one who to meet his duty to study best-sellers or Tin Pan Alley tore himself away from Walden Pond or a cork-lined isolation cell.

Harold Rosenberg, The Tradition of the New (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), pp. 259-60.

I would aver that no culture has ever been based on the values and patterns associated with the fine arts. The assumption of such a basis for culture is possible only when the social-science definition of culture is confused or purposefully misapplied to the institution of the fine arts within any society. When culture becomes synonymous with the fine arts, such a definition can easily be used to flog the dead horse of a cultureless contemporary society - the "fact" is established by definition only. From such a position it is impossible to approach the study of the on-going process of the fine arts in contemporary society. Since the institution of the fine arts does not form a community of producers, audiences, creators, spectators, there can be no culture by definition.

If, however, the study of the fine arts is approached without the inherent biases of mass-culture theory, without an exclusive definition of the fine arts, and without assumptions concerning the community of high culture, empirical research is possible. Whether or not a substantial and supportive public is available for the arts is not prejudged. Whether conditions are favorable or unfavorable for artistic creativity and production is not prejudged. And whether the society and general cultural values support or detract from the institution of the fine arts is still open for investigation. Such is the direction of this study. Instead of the term "high culture," the term "fine arts" will be used to delimit certain art forms from popular art forms.[1] Rather than culture's being defined as a shared system of beliefs based on a community of sustained interpersonal relations, culture will be defined here simply as beliefs and values, with no implication of system or patterning. Whether or not, given the social structure of contemporary society, there is a single, uniform culture or pluralistic cultures is then a question which must be reformulated. Are there in fact values and beliefs which characterize consistently distinct sections of the population? This is a question which can be investigated empirically.

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[1] No attempt is made to establish which art forms fall into which categories. Both are considered open systems of classification. And the properties assigned to each, except as operationally defined by the museum, are not considered in this research.

And indeed, even from the critics themselves, there is evidence that the culture of modern society is not homogeneous. Few critics assert that no fine art forms exist or that no organizations or values supporting them are extant. To admit that the fine arts are residual is still, at least, to admit their existence even when denying them vitality or spontaneity. For other critics it has been necessary to distinguish between levels of popular culture. Macdonald's distinction between masscult and midcult, Greenberg's distinction between the avant garde and kitsch are cases in point. Never clearly defined, the categories are used to distinguish between lower forms of popular culture and what passes for high culture within contemporary society. Both the avant garde and midcult are high culture manqué, in this argument.

> ... the avant garde imitates the processes of art; kitsch imitates its effects.[1]
>
> Masscult is bad in a new way: it doesn't even have the theoretical possibility of being good.[2]
>
> Midcult is a more dangerous opponent of High Culture because it incorporates so much of the avant garde.[3]

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[1] Clement Greenberg, "Avant Garde and Kitsch," Rosenberg and White, eds., Mass Culture, p. 106.

[2] Macdonald, Against the American Grain, p. 4.

[3] Ibid., p. 51. Macdonald does not use avant garde in the pejorative way that Greenberg does.

For some critics distinctions must be made within the field of popular culture whereby levels are distinguished, content is differentiated, audiences are separated; thus doubt is cast on the general assumption of the homogeneity of modern culture.

One further point must be made in this section. The critics of modern society consistently correlate a specific type of culture - in their terms, folk, high or popular culture - with a specific audience or public - the old upper aristocratic classes, the new middle classes, or the peasantry. A total way of life corresponds to the total society (folk culture and primitive society) or to a segment of the total society (high culture and the aristocratic classes). For a society which has basic class differentiation, the total culture and the total society is an aggregate of the individually distinct cultures and segments within it. Again the implication here is the dependence of culture on the social structure and the uniformity of culture within the whole or within the independent segments of the whole. If instead of the total-way-of-life definition of culture, culture-as-values-or-beliefs is used as the definition, the investigator is released from making assumptions about the uniformity of values characterizing the population even if the population is all of the same social class. Culture is allowed to vary independently of social structure, and no assumptions are made about a particular system of values representing the views and attitudes of a particular social class. Furthermore the investigator is free to probe the variety of attitudes and values that support, say, the fine arts in a society, whether these values and attitudes consist of a systematic approach to the fine arts, whether there are conflicting positions for the support of the fine arts, and whether such values and positions characterize the same or different sections of the population.

So far the discussion has concentrated on the general use of the concept of culture in the writings of the critics. Still to be considered are the following problems: the social structure of contemporary society and its impact on the fine arts; the roles and attitudes of elites and publics and their impact on the fine arts; the role and value system of the artists; the implications of the critics' analysis for organizations of the fine arts; and their arguments about the quality of contemporary art.

There are two major arguments concerning the social structure necessary for the survival of high culture. One group of critics insists upon the necessity of a leisured class and the consequent class divisions within the larger society as the necessary and sufficient conditions for the survival of what is called high culture - the fine arts. This leisure class is equated either with the aristocratic class of earlier historical periods or with any ruling class in general.

> Civilization requires the existence of a leisured class, and a leisured class requires the existence of slaves - of people, I mean, who give some part of their surplus time and energy to the support of others. If you feel that such inequality is intolerable, have the courage to admit that you can dispense with civilization and that equality, not good, is what you want. Complete human equality is compatible only with complete savagery.[1]

> It will not, I think, be disputed that in any future society, as in every civilised society of the past, there must be these different levels. I do not think that the most ardent champions of social equality dispute this...[2]

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[1] Clive Bell, Civilization (London: Chatto and Windus, Ltd., 1928), pp. 75-76.

[2] T. S. Eliot, Notes Toward a Definition of Culture (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949), p. 23.

> The masses have always remained more or less indifferent to culture in the process of development. But today such culture is being abandoned by those to whom it actually belongs - our ruling class. For it is to the latter that the avant-garde belongs. No culture can develop without a social basis, without a source of stable income. And in the case of the avant-garde this was provided by an elite among the ruling class of that society from which it assumed itself to be cut off, but to which it has always remained attached by an umbilical cord of gold. The paradox is real. And now this elite is rapidly shrinking. Since the avant-garde forms the only living culture we now have, the survival in the near future of culture in general is thus threatened.[1]

The emphasis in this argument is on the necessity of a leisured audience - a group which has the time and education to cultivate the finer things. The finer things are the fine arts and the minority culture of a select social class. This culture represents a minority culture and a minority art. Appreciation by the general public and by other social classes is limited by the degree of education and refinement necessary to comprehend and enjoy such objects and values. According to this view, the culture of this class is the expression of the finest and highest values within the society. Consequently the culture of the society depends on the individuals in this audience and their willingness to encourage and support the fine arts.

> High culture was entirely dominated by people with more than average prestige, power and income - by the elite as a group, who also dominated politics and society in general. This group determined what was to be produced, culturally and otherwise; and they took their toll often by oppression and spoliation of the mass of people whom they ruled.[2]

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[1] Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," p. 101.

[2] Van Den Haag, "Of Happiness and Despair We Have No Measure," pp. 518-519.

The institutions and organizations which help to support the fine arts in this view are class-based; they are tied for their continuation to the class which supports them financially and from which their entire audience is drawn. The conclusion often drawn by the critics is that since there is little class differentiation within modern society, there is consequently no fine art - or, at least, that the fine arts are debilitated. Since the organizations of contemporary society which are devoted to the fine arts -the universities, museums, symphony orchestras, art schools, etc. - depend on a variety of public supports and are not limited by class audiences or participants, they are condemned out of hand as possible bearers of the fine arts. The consequence of this theoretic position is to focus research on the inherent limitations confronting a minority-based art within a mass-based social structure. The upper classes in modern society are examined for their mass characteristics - the extent to which they use mass media, enjoy mass entertainment, support mass culture; they are examined for their support of the fine arts and usually found lacking; they are examined for the degree to which they contribute to the "massification" of the fine arts and of high culture. Social class attributes in such research are a major independent variable for the exploration and explanation of the mass-culture problem. The consistently small proportion of upper class members who support the fine arts is taken as evidence for the abdication of the upper class from its major functional roles and for the inevitable debilitation of the fine arts.[1]

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[1] Some representative research which has concentrated on the association of social class and taste: Lester Asheim, "Portrait of the Book Reader as Depicted in Current Research," Mass Communications (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1949), pp. 424-429; Q. D. Leavis, Fiction and the Reading Public (London: Chatto and Windus, Ltd., 1932); Herta Herzog, "What Do We Really Know About Day-Time Serial

The second argument concerning the social structure necessary for the survival of the fine arts conceptualizes the problem around the polar categories of elite and mass.

> From our standpoint the task of the intellectual elites is to inspire the life of culture and to lend it form, create a living culture in the different spheres of social life. We may distinguish the following main types of elites: the political, the organizing, the intellectual, the artistic, the moral, and the religious. Whereas the political and organizing elites aim at integrating a great number of individual wills, it is the function of the intellectual, aesthetic and moral-religious elites to sublimate those psychic energies which society, in the daily struggle for existence, does not fully exhaust. In this way they stimulate objective knowledge as well as tendencies to introversion, introspection, contemplation, and reflection, which, although no society could exist without them, nevertheless would not play their full part at our present stage of development without more or less conscious control and guidance.[1]

The first argument assigns the maintenance of the fine arts to an audience limited by social class, without concern for the cultural participation of the rest of the social classes. Further, in this argument there is no analytic concern about the selection of creators or the process of creativity. The first argument is easily translated into the vocabulary of the second by ascribing elite status to the upper social class, the class which forms the dominant cultural elite. When this transformation occurs the rest of the social class population is translated as the mass.

Listeners?" Radio Research, 1942-43, Lazarsfeld and Stanton, eds. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pierce, 1943), pp. 3-23; Richard Hoggart, The Uses of Literacy (London: Chatto and Windus, Ltd., 1957); George A. Lundberg et al, Leisure: A Suburban Study (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934); C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); G. A. Steiner, The People Look at Television (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963); Harold Wilensky, "Mass Society and Mass Culture."

[1] Mannheim, Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction, pp. 82-83.

> Mass society comes about when "the mass of the population has become incorporated into society". Since society originally comprehended those parts of the population which disposed of leisure time and the wealth which goes with it, mass society does indeed indicate a new order in which the masses have been liberated...[1]

The second argument analyzes the social structure necessary for the continuing selection and support of the creator and assigns this elite group the task of disseminating the culture throughout the society. The consequence of this theoretic position is the concentration on the selection and protection of elite groups within the creative core of the culture.

The second formulation is the basis of most of the discussions of elites and masses within contemporary society. Research and analysis have focused, on the one hand, on the inability of the masses to sustain culture, to act as an appropriate audience for the fine arts, and the inevitable effect of the standards and demands of the masses on the institution of the fine arts. And on the other, the focus has been on the debilitating effects of mass society on the elite - either the creative elite or the elite audience. Since the creative elite, in this argument, is the culture-carrier, the analysis has examined the structural conditions necessary for the survival of this elite. Mannheim suggests four conditions associated with mass society that contribute to the debilitation of this elite: 1) the increase in the numbers of the elite (those dedicated to the examination, creation and dissemination of the cultural values); 2) the breakdown of the exclusiveness of the elites; 3) selection into the group on the single criterion of achievement; 4) a change in the structural ties within the elite - the loss of community among the elite.[2]

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[1] Arendt, "Society and Culture," p. 15.

[2] Mannheim, Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction, pp. 86f.

Mannheim carefully distinguishes the cultural elites of any society - the intellectual, the artistic, the moral - from other elites - political, economic, organizing. The distinction tends to be ignored by current writers, who focus their attention on the political, economic or organizational elites and neglect the analysis of the cultural and creative elites, except as these elites are seen as debilitated by mass culture. The elites of modern society are considered to be the leaders in government, business, mass communications, the military and the social and fashion worlds. In the words of Clement Greenberg, quoted above, these are the natural leaders of the society.[1]

Two positions concerning these elites may be discerned among the critics of mass culture. The elites of contemporary society have been transformed into mass elites because of the pressure of the masses, or they maintain their power over the masses by the brutal use of mass media to narcotize the masses. The first position is represented in the following statement:

> With the development of industry, the elite as a group lost its power. The great mass of consumers now determines what is to be produced. Elite status, leadership in any form, is achieved and kept today by catering to the masses - not by plundering or oppressing them. The nobleman may have become rich by robbing (taking from) his peasants. But the industrialist becomes a millionaire by selling to (exchanging with) farmers. And his business is helped by giving his customers, via television, the entertainers they want. These, in turn, reach elite status by appealing to the masses. So do politicians.
>
> The elite, then, no longer determines what is produced, any more than it dominates society in other respects. Rather, the elite becomes the elite by producing the goods that sell - the goods that cater to an average of tastes. With respect to culture, the elite neither

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[1] See Introduction II for further discussion of this problem.

> imposes any taste nor cultivates one of its own. It markets and helps homogenize and distribute popular culture - that which appeals to an average of tastes - through the mass media. The changes in income distribution, mobility, and communication, the economics of mass production already discussed, have caused the power of individual consumers to wane. But the power of consumers as a group has risen and that of producers as a group has dwindled.[1]

The second position holds that:

> Mass culture is imposed from above. It is fabricated by technicians hired by businessmen; its audiences are passive consumers, their participation limited to the choice between buying and not buying.[2]

These two positions correspond to the democratic and aristocratic criticisms of mass society whereby elites and masses are polarized either by

> ... the loss of exclusiveness of elites and the rise of mass participation in cultural and political life.[3]

or by

> the loss of insulation by non-elites and the rise of elites bent on total domination.[4]

Whether one argues from the aristocratic or the democratic position, the cultural and structural consequences for modern society are the same. Although elites are present within the social structure, they are transformed in the first instance by following mass standards to maintain their positions; in the second instance they control by the use of mass standards. The cultural product is the same however it arises - mass culture. And the elites are transformed to mass elites whatever their origin and former beliefs - they are no longer insulated from the masses. Either the pressure from below has transformed their closed and sacred position to position open to influence from the masses, or the elite transforms itself by succumbing to the very values it utilizes to control the masses. In this latter case the elite is seen to "sell out" in order to maintain its position.

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[1] Ross and Van Den Haag, Fabric of Society, pp. 177-178.

[2] Macdonald, "A Theory of Mass Culture," Rosenberg and White, eds., Mass Culture, p. 60.

[3] Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society, p. 21.

[4] Ibid., p. 23.

Such an argument does not allow conceptual discrimination between leaders in the various institutional sectors of a society and upper and upper-middle classes within the society. Elite and class are merged - these are the necessary and sufficient audience and support for the fine arts. Elites and classes are the necessary and sufficient audience for the fine arts if knowledge, education and appreciation of the fine arts is limited to them, if no other sector of the public has such qualifications, and if all financial and occupational support for the fine arts comes from them.

If elites as a category are limited to Mannheim's meaning, as they are in this research, I doubt that such a highly selective group could ever be knowledgeable enough or numerically strong enough to act as such necessary and sufficient support for the fine arts. If social class and culture are not coterminous, if specific social classes - such as the upper class - are not characterized by specific cultures - such as high culture - then there is no reason to believe that the appreciation and understanding of the values and standards of the fine arts are limited to a so-called elite social class. Mass-culture theory limits the possible extent of appreciation and support by insisting on the necessity of an elite audience - elite by class or leadership. Consequently in this research the question of the extent and the quality of appreciation and support for the fine arts becomes a problem open for empirical investigation. The extent to which elites - leaders of the political, social, economic institutions - support the fine arts and the museum, and the extent to which support and sympathy are found in various social classes will be examined.

To summarize the implications of this general introduction I suggest the following: with the critics of contemporary culture I accept the fact that industrialization has wrought profound changes in the social structure of modern society. Such changes will also alter the social context of the arts insofar as audiences and patrons, the classes from which they are drawn, the kinds of support they tender, their relationship to the artists, are altered. Such changes will alter the social context of the arts insofar as the social position and organization of the fine arts are altered - whether considering the career possibilities of the artist or the kinds of organizations that develop within the context of the fine-art fields.

Most cultures of the world have supported arts which are judged to be of superior quality by the experts. Since such art forms have survived in amazingly varied social contexts from primitive to modern societies, I am more sanguine about their ultimate survival in contemporary society than most of the critics. At the same time I recognize that some social contexts may make the creation of fine art, the training of the creators and the education of the audiences more possible than other contexts. For instance, if recruitment into the occupation of artists is open to those with ability but if there is no institutionalized means of support for the artist whereby he can make a living and produce his art, recruitment of the artist will not be easy for the society. Or if extensive educational facilities for audiences are available but audiences are motivated by other interests than art, such educational facilities will fail in their attempt to create an audience despite their own adequacy; and hence, a necessary social support for the arts will be missing in the social context. Such considerations make the study of the social context of the arts within contemporary society imperative.

The study of this social context, however, cannot be essayed within the theoretic perspectives of the critics of mass culture. The limitations of their biases and conceptual model are too constraining. I find that I must reject their closed, exclusive definitions of art and quality - leaving these open to additional qualifications and the judgments of history. I cannot accept the usual definition of culture as "the way of life of a group" and the equating of the fine arts with the culture of any group. I find such an argument historically false and conceptually confusing. I cannot accept the blurring of distinctions between the concepts of elite and social class. These must be analytically separate in order to get at the complex relations between such variables and the problems of support of, interest in and knowledge of the arts. Nor can I accept the polarization of masses and elites as the most fruitful conceptualization of the social context of the fine arts in contemporary society.

INTRODUCTION II THE PROBLEM POSED

The problem of the social context of art within contemporary society is vast and complex--too much so for a small-scale study. However, it seems important to explore even a small area of this vast field for some understanding of the way the complex variables of social structure, attitudes, occupations and organizations relate to one another. The fine art museum, its organization and professionalization, its publics, its ethos, its relation to artist and elite, makes an excellent laboratory for such a study. The museum as an organization is consecrated to the maintenance of high standards of art and appreciation; the museum mediates in the community between artists and audiences; the museum as an organization encompasses both professionals in the field of art and museology and non-professionals, both members of the general public and members of the elite. It is, thus, a pivotal organization, and its study should enlighten both as to the claims of the mass culture theorists and as to the real problems facing such an organization devoted to the fine arts.

Within mass-culture theory the most common analysis of the social structure of contemporary art utilizes the mass-elite dichotomy as the only necessary conceptual tool and as the only adequate model for describing the conditions of the fine arts in contemporary society. Focusing as it does on the concepts of masses and elites, the theory of mass culture consistently underestimates the significance of organizations in the fine arts and their effect on the formation of specific audiences and on the professional aspects of the fine arts. This focus, also, consistently exaggerates the simplicity of what are in reality very complex connections between organizations, publics, artists and elites. Among the critics of contemporary culture, the most common argument against the museum is that it corrupts rather than encourages the maintenance of high standards, that it entertains or brain-washes rather than enlightens its audiences, or that it reflects the standards of mass audiences in its appeals to social snobbery and status through the fine arts.

> One of the grotesqueries of present-day American life is the amount of reasoning that goes into displaying the wisdom secreted in bad movies while proving that modern art is meaningless. Yet it is nothing else than the intellectualization of kitsch, in which the universities, foundations, museums play their part . . . . [1]

> To the extent that American culture is tied to that of Europe, we can claim a legitimate right to purchase our portion of evidence of the past, but by the standards that make the Louvre the greatest museum in the world, the standards of history, of tradition and what we might call "natural acquisition," American avidity for bought culture has just a touch of *mauvais gout*.
>
> And, when you come down to it, some of our new museum buildings and most of our new display techniques support this unhappy thought. Cold and dramatic at the same time, they imply that we are less interested in enjoying works of art than in owning and displaying them, and putting them to use as means toward the end of increasing our culture status.[2]

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[1] Rosenberg, *The Tradition of the New*, p. 260.

[2] John Canaday, *Embattled Critic* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1962), p. 199.

Museums, as an organizational form, are seen as hucksters like the other middlemen who have replaced the original artist-patron relationship.

> The very impersonality of the market place removed the artist from the art consumer.[1]

This study starts with the assumption that within modern society such organizations are one of the prime factors in the creation, education and maintenance of stable audiences, and, further, that such organizations also help to sustain the professional aspects of the arts by providing a specific organizational locus--a setting to anchor them within a stable organization; supporting the values, standards and traditions of the arts; providing professional standards of conduct in the education of the public and for display; and (in part) maintaining the artists and professionals through occupational opportunities related to their training and expertise.

The elite-mass model of mass-culture theory is often used to describe the structure of organizations in contemporary society--the leadership of the organization being the elite, the public or the audience of the organization being the mass. In the case of a museum the elites could be either the professionals of the organization or the members of the museum's board of directors or a combination of professionals and board members. Such elites--whether professional, board or both--would either unilaterally control the organization from the top or be controlled and under the domination of the mass--in this case either the public in general or the membership. Either elite or mass would be impotent, at the mercy of the other. For the museum this would mean the complete domination of all museum activities, standards and operations either by the elites or by the mass. Such domination could lead to museum policies based on pettifogging professionalism, to the predominance of the social elite and its standards in all aspects of museum social life and presentations, or to the dominance of mass standards and demands--museum policies, presentations and standards based on the average of public tastes and interests.

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[1] Joseph Bensman and Israel Gerver, "Art and the Mass Society," Social Problems, Vol. VI (Summer, 1958), p. 6.

Such a model oversimplifies the organizational form of the museum, its functions, and the homogeneity of any groups associated with it. The functions of the museum are manifold; some are very specific and some are very general. The functions are diverse enough to require both professional and lay staff to carry them out. The diversification of such functions, therefore, should protect the organization from domination by any one group; whether or not such protection is forthcoming will be examined in the research. There are professional tasks within the museum that can be properly fulfilled only by staff members competent in the esoterica of cataloguing, historical analysis, or curatorial duties. There are other tasks within the museum that must be filled by artists--teachers in the art classes. The professional staff of the museum is inherently not homogeneous because of this kind of pervasive professional differentiation. How this kind of differentiation influences the organization will be examined. Furthermore, there are many general functions within the museum that are handled by non-professional staff members--public relations and membership being, perhaps, the most important. To the professional parts of the organization, then, are added departments which relate almost exclusively to the public. Such departments should inhibit the over-professionalization of the museum and should act as mediators between sections of the public and the professional staff. And since the compositions of the museum staff is made less homogeneous by the inclusion of these essentially lay departments, such departments should serve as balance within the museum.

The formal organization of the museum includes professional and lay intra-mural staff, a board composed of prominent social, civic and business leaders and a broad public membership. The formal organization is, thus, inherently non-homogeneous. The formal organization contains elements of professional and social elites (professional staff and board members) and mass (general membership) and would, within mass-culture theory, be liable to domination by one of these elements. I will argue in this study that the formal organization represents a set of constantly shifting alliances between and among these different elements which excludes the possibility of dominance by any one. The professional staff is protected from the social elite and the public by the ethos of and allegiance to the broader professional associations--ties to national professional codes and organizations. The professional staff members are also protected by such codes and allegiances from pressures to conform to strictly local and less demanding standards. The social elite and the general public are protected, at the same time, from the control and domination of the museum by the professionals because of the public funding of such organizations. The limits of professional immunity to public censure and the limits of professional independence are set by the fact that the monies for the museum come from public donations.

With such a complex composition, the formal organization of the museum is susceptible to conflicts between and among its various elements. Conflicts themselves, I suggest, are healthful to the organization since they indicate the working out of the various alliances and the shifting of power between and among the several elements. The way such alliances are established, the implications of them for the organization and its values must be determined by investigation. I would suggest that the most organized groups--i.e., the professional staff and the board--stand the greatest chance of influencing museum policies and decisions.

When the critics of mass culture consider the professionalization of the fine arts, the implications are always pejorative. Professionalization occurs when creativity is blocked.

> The major problems of art become primarily technical, and the artist becomes primarily concerned with problems of techniques. As a consequence, the artist is constrained to focus his attention on methodological problems. The meaning of social experience becomes secondary and in some cases is almost excluded from the scope of art.
>
> As the rationalization of each artistic medium develops, its techniques, methods, conventions, rules, language, and logic become more elaborate and precise. The position of artist then requires a thorough, intensive, and prolonged professional training, indoctrination, and practice. At the same time the appreciation of the artistic product increasingly requires a knowledge of those highly sophisticated criteria upon which the work is based. Since a knowledge of such criteria can only be based upon specialized and intensive training, art becomes more and more inaccessible and incomprehensible to those who have not acquired the esthetic standards of appreciation. The work of art is alienated from the taste of the lay public, and artistic interpreters (critics, educators, publicists, managers, dealers) become important in determining the channels by which works of art are exposed to and accepted by an untrained public.)[1]

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[1] Bensman and Gerver, "Art and the Mass Society," p. 4.

The consequence of this position is to ignore the manifold aspects of professionalization within the fine arts. The organizational context of and the occupational patterns in the fine arts are diverse and complex. Instead of dismissing attempts at professionalization as inherently sterile for the fine arts, the purpose or function of professionalization must be considered. I suggest that one purpose of the intense drive for professionalization among museum personnel is to separate themselves from lay elite and public demands, to establish museum work as a profession in order to protect standards and values in the fine arts from this kind of public pressure. Professionalism does for the fine arts just the opposite of what critics of modern culture claim--it protects high standards rather than debasing them.

A caution, however, is necessary. The process of professionalization in the museum field is an intricate one. The professional field has developed an ethos which supports the values and standards of the fine arts. The ethos also establishes the social orientation for the museum. The ethos and the code of ethics provide standards for certain operational practises--establishing authenticity and provenance, labeling, buying and selling art objects, dealing with forgeries. For such practises control and surveillance are relatively easy and manageable; rule-breakers are visible and publicly sanctioned, and high standards are easily defined. There are other areas in which standards are not only ill-defined but also impossible to define in anything more than the most vague and open terms. Such questions as what modern art qualifies as representing high standards of art, for instance, must for all practical purposes wait for historical as well as contemporary judgment. In another consideration, too, the code of ethics and the ethos of the profession set standards which, to say the least, are seriously open to question. The ethos prescribes a completely public orientation for the museum without examining the possible conflict between high standards and public orientation. In this instance, the ethos of the museum is established on a principle which, to the critics of mass culture, insures the debasing of the fine arts. I would suggest that there is a certain blindness about this double-leveled meaning of high standards in the museum ethos. The practicality of the application of some standards passes for application of high standards at all other levels. Consequently policies relating to the quality of modern art or the public orientation of the museum are not discussed and are possible sources of trouble for both museum and community. Furthermore, when there is public criticism of museum practises, the museum is likely to obfuscate the real issues by claiming its right to make policy on the grounds of dedication to superior standards and of knowing more about the issues (inherently unknowable) than the public because the museum is professional and the public is not. How some of these problems are managed within a museum setting will be discussed and examined in the course of the study.

Another basic assumption of this study is that there is not a single, homogeneous public or mass confronting the museum. The audience which the museum confronts is a pluralistic audience--many audiences differentiated in many dimensions. Audiences are differentiated by social-class characteristics and by membership in the economic, political, social or cultural elite. Considering first that part of the audience which figures so large in the analysis of the critics--the elite--I would suggest, contrary to most critics, that even in this instance the audience is neither homogeneous, nor characterized by community esprit.

> . . . it is easy to document the phenomenon that in practice many art activities constitute precisely an integration of the elite. One trustee of the Museum said, as a matter of course: "The Museum should be used by educators, clergymen, bankers, and others (of their kind)." Every American art museum or symphony we know about seems to have its inner circle of community leaders who are its patrons, contributors, or volunteers. They meet semiprivately at openings, celebrations, or art events of one kind or another. They naturally exchange views about the art exhibited or the performance they have seen and thus reveal their taste preferences. This preference was fairly homogeneous to begin with, and the exchange of comments makes it even more so, according to the principle of convergence. In all, common taste is a bond among them. But also, and invariably, they discuss other matters that concern them.
>
> Here we can observe men and women in command of wealth, power, knowledge, or reverence formulating their agreement on vital issues, such as matters of finance or material acquisitions; and they exehange opinions about other persons with whom they may become associated through marriage, business, or politics.[1]

In a community large enough to qualify as a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, the elite will be large enough and the characteristics of its membership diverse enough to preclude its forming a homogeneous group. Persons belonging to the elite, persons occupying formal positions of power, influence and authority in the economic, political, social and cultural institutions within the community, I predict, will not form a homogeneous, cohesive power structure; such individuals will belong to various friendship and occupational groups which crosscut other groups and other elites and have memberships selected from both elite and non-elite social positions.[1] I would anticipate that certain elites share attitudes, have a social life in common more than other elites. The cultural elites--those in positions of authority in religious, intellectual, or artistic organizations--would share more occupational concerns than elites from the business, economic and social institutions. Elites from the social and business worlds would have more social contacts with each other than with elites from political or cultural institutions. However, the interests and the kinds of power available to elites would differ enough to make social cohesion among such a diverse group impossible. I would anticipate that elites, as a group, act in concert only in extremely rare circumstances, if at all.

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[1] Hans L. Zetterberg, Social Theory and Social Practice, (New York: Bedminster Press, 1962), pp. 152-153.

Furthermore I would predict that elite positions are not open and unprotected from mass encroachments and that achievement is not the single criterion for entrance. It has been demonstrated for elites in other contexts that positions are not indiscriminately open. A significant proportion or incumbents in power and elite positions within the trade-union movement, for instance, have higher educations than the rank-and-file membership; political leaders generally have higher educations than the population at large.[1] I would consequently anticipate that persons in elite positions would differ in certain characteristic ways from, say, the rank-and-file membership of the museum. I would expect among the elite more education, greater age, longer residence in the area, higher incomes and higher status occupations. I would also expect that some of these characteristics would differ among the various elites--for instance, that the professional elites of cultural institutions would more regularly be drawn from outside the area than from within. I would also predict that elites themselves come from backgrounds different from those of the rank-and-file membership of the museum. I would anticipate the elites more frequently than non-elites would come from backgrounds of greater wealth and occupational prestige. All such factors would distinguish elites, as a group, from non-elites.

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[1] While the informal elite leadership in any community is also important, and would be significant for this study, limitations on the scope of the study preclude the analysis of this problem.

Such factors, however, might not distinguish elites from certain sections of the upper and upper-middle classes. A social class that can be discriminated from others on the basis of wealth, income, occupation, prestige and residence, I surmise, will not necessarily be characterized by shared interests, attitudes or a cohesive social life. Social class, *per se*, will not make for a homogeneous way of life, a common set of values or *esprit*.

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[1] Kornhauser, *Politics of Mass Society*, p. 55f.

Critics of contemporary culture conceptualize the audience in two different ways--as an elite and as a mass. If conceptualizing the audience as an elite is inadequate, conceptualizing it as a mass is even more so. Critics conceive of the mass audience as "mass" by virtue of two distinct theoretical explanations and descriptions. On the one hand, the audience is seen as a mass audience by virtue of the extreme heterogeneity of individual members, their social atomism, their apathy. Consequently any address to such an audience has to be made on the basis of the least common denominator--mass culture.[1] On the other hand, the audience is described as being so homogeneous, so undifferentiated, so alike in its individual parts that only the content of mass culture with its homogenization of content can possibly appeal.[2] In the first case mass culture creates a common set of standards, however lowly and uniform, in order to coalesce such disparate individual parts; in the second case mass culture is the direct expression of the homogeneity of the masses. In both cases the fine arts are defeated by the masses; they cannot survive in an environment that demands conformity, uniformity and homogeneity.

I suggest that "mass" as a means of describing the audience of an art museum in contemporary society is inappropriate whether the first or the second meaning of "mass" is accepted. An organization such as an art museum does not have an audience; it has many audiences. Each audience can be described on different dimensions--social class, attitude, attachments to the organization, educational background, professional skills--but these dimensions do not necessarily define discrete audiences. Any one audience may be composed of individuals representing a variety of responses on any one variable. An audience representing an interest group--say, art teachers--may share one set of characteristics to a greater degree than other groups do--say, professional skills. But the audience of art teachers will also be differentiated among themselves on other characteristics--say, age, residence, family background. By lumping all such discrete audiences together as the audience, the critics attempt to explain the way the audience participates, the level of interest among individual members of the audience, to establish the quality of art the audience desires and enforces, the common expectations concerning, say, an art museum. Since the audience is assumed to be homogeneous on the one hand or approachable only with the least-common-denominator level of quality on the other, no damage is done to the data if means and modes are used as indices for the audience characteristics. In fact, much of the research in mass communications makes just such an assumption and takes as the most important data for analysis the average characteristics of the groups under study.[1] Lack of interest in the fine arts, good literature or good music characterizes the largest proportions of members of the various audiences studied; therefore lack of interest in the fine arts characterizes *the* American audience.

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[1] Ross and Van Den Haag, Fabric of Society, p. 168; Bensman and Gerver, "Art and the Mass Society," p. 6.

[2] Bernard Rosenberg, "Mass Culture in America," pp. 4-5.

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[1] This assumption has had important consequences for the kind of research done in mass communications. Survey-research data are the major type of data analyzed; the large-scale questionnaire, often national in scope, the most frequently used research technique. The data derived from such techniques implement the assumption that the audience is composed of atomized individuals and that *the* audience may be described by *average* characteristics.

> The use of the sample survey, which has virtually dominated communications research in recent decades, accepted implicitly the notion of the "atomized" individual. A sample of individuals is selected out of a population which may or may not be characterized by structured interpersonal relationships. (We are arguing, of course, that such structured relationships invariably exist in the population from which the sample is drawn.) The nature of the data inclines one to accept the individuals in the sample *as individuals*, or at best to look at them as representative of certain categories in the population; i.e., the young vs. the old, the poor vs. the rich, etc. (Bauer and Bauer, "America, Mass Society and Mass Media," p. 15)

Typical studies using this technique are the following: Steiner, *The People Look at Television*; Leo Bogart, *The Age of Television* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1956); Murray B. Levine, *The Alienated Voter* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960); Bernard Berelson, The Libraries' Public (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949); Paul Lazarsfeld and Patricia Kendall, Radio Listening in America (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948).

Although the idea of an atomized audience was challenged in the research done in the 1940's by Karz and Lazarsfeld, who suggest the mediation of personal contact in the formation of personal attitudes, most studies still concentrate on the distribution of characteristics rather than on the details of the formation and characteristics of diverse, distinct audiences. Elihu Katz and Paul Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955). There are, as a consequence, few studies which compare different kinds of audiences, explore the formation of distinct audiences, or analyze the conceptual framework of the audiences. Harold L. Wilensky, "Mass Society and Mass Culture," is one of the rate studies that attempts just this.

I predict that on some variables the audiences of a fine-art museum will be homogeneous to some extent--wide divergence in education and social class are not expected. Since I do not make the assumption that social background and social structure determine the values and attitudes--the culture--of individual members, I predict that even given the same social-class position, different audiences will be discernable. Variables such as level of interest in the fine arts, kind of attachment to the organization, definition of the role of the organization will distinguish different audiences indistinguishable on the basis of social-class characteristics.

I predict that the kinds of publics and audiences confronting a museum are not necessarily stable, homogeneous groups, but like the alliances among elites are sets of shifting group memberships with individuals often being members of more than one audience or public at a time. For instance, art teachers serve as one highly instrumental audience for the museum. Art teachers use the museum for specific ends. Art teachers also may relate to the museum as artists, as general members of the museum, as possible exhibitors, and, when not specifically holding paid memberships in the museum, as part of the non-member, general public interested in what the museum offers. Any one person may play several roles vis-à-vis the museum. The members of any one audience may, therefore, have cross-cutting loyalties to other groups or different audiences. It will be, consequently, impossible to talk about _the_ audience, _its_ attitudes and values, _its_ characteristics.

At the same time the museum will see its audiences and publics differentiated in other ways. Some audiences--the artists, for example--will be more visible than other audiences. The museum will have a clear view, will be more likely to take into account the attitudes of those publics and audiences with whom it comes into direct contact, those audiences which are directly visible. Groups that are formally or informally organized--artists in art clubs or in a social and professional clique, women's clubs, various voluntary organizations--are in a better position to reach the museum with criticisms or suggestions; the museum staff consequently identifies them as specific audiences and feels that it must respond to them personally. The way the various groups define the role of the museum and the museum's own definition of its role thus become an important area of negotiation between the museum and its publics.

Critics of contemporary culture maintain that stable, long-term audiences for the fine arts are necessary. Without such stability mass conditions for the fine arts result.

> Mass standards also are fluid. Whenever standards are set by large numbers of people, they will tend to manifest frequent change in content. When in addition large numbers of people participate in the determination of standards as members of an undifferentiated collectivity (mass), then changes in content are more likely to be discontinuous.[1]

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[1] Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society, p. 103.

Mass conditions appear when elites and organizations give in to mass appeals or to mass audiences, placate the masses by lowering the standards and changing the fashions according to the whim of the moment. According to this analysis the museum "sells out" the values of the fine arts to the extent that it accommodates interests, standards, and values other than its own. The implication of such a position is that there is one set of standards and values that are intrinsically the values and standards of the fine arts, that there is one role for the museum that encompasses the functions of a fine art museum.

Such an exclusive and closed definition of the standards and values of the fine arts[1] and the implications of this definition for the role of the museum is certainly belied by historical data. Since their inception, museums have successfully played several different roles--as repositories, as adjuncts to research, as pleasure palaces, as community centers. It is thus hard to understand how the museum could be seen as contributing solely to the demise of the arts. Nor can a single set of standards and values be shown to exist for all fine-art forms at all times. Again such claims oversimplify a more complex situation. The problem, it would seem, could be more significantly phrased as an assessment of the consequences of such functional diversity within an organization, the extent to which functional diversity is the result of mass pressures, whether diversity supports or creates conflicts in different systems of values, fosters or hinders the creation of an environment conducive to organizational success and achievement of goals. And whether the museum as an organization encourages public acceptance of its goals, acquires support for its values or undercuts such supports also becomes a problem worth investigation, considering the diverse audiences and publics which the museum accommodates.

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[1] The statement of just what these standards and values are is noticeable by its absence in the writings of the critics.

The focus of this research and analysis is the study of a fine-arts museum--an organization ostensibly dedicated to the support of the fine arts in contemporary society. The goals and values of the organization will be considered--both the professional values and codes and the community ethos of the museum. An answer to the question of whether these two sets of values are compatible and whether they support the organization and the fine arts will be essayed. The further question of whether the structure of the organization supports or works against these values, supports one set against the other, or implies another covert set of values will be examined.

The formal and informal organization of the museum will be discussed in detail and the contributions of its separate parts evaluated. The professional staff and the lay board will be examined with regard to the extent of cooperation, shared values and outlooks, and roles within the museum. I want to assess the impact of this dualism--the professional and the lay--on the organization, on the definition of its role in the community and on its stance vis-à-vis the fine arts.

Some of the more visible publics of the museum will be studied--artists, current members of the museum, art teachers of the area, former members. How these publics relate to the museum will be considered; the extent to which these groups have access to the museum, can influence its policies, are in accord with its values, or are critical of the social organization of the museum. The characteristics of these groups as audiences will be described; their different kinds of attachments to the organization will be analyzed; and an assessment of the role and function of such different attachments will be attempted.

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Permission was granted by the Board of Directors and the Director of the art museum for a two-and-one-half year study of all aspects of museum organization. The techniques of the study included both field and participant observation, the keeping of a field diary, interviewing, sampling and questionnaire surveys. Furthermore, my being in the field for so long a period allowed the museum staff, in time, to take my presence for granted, to lose their self-consciousness at my intrusions, and finally to accept my intentions as honorable. Consequently I was rewarded with their confidence and their insights about the whole complex of activities in which they were involved. In time, their own interest in the project and their dedication to serving the museum induced them, quite on their own, to come to me with news, incidents, or viewpoints I might have missed or overlooked. Furthermore, the staff's acceptance of my presence and their interest in the project made it easier for me to reach members of the Board of Directors and the Women's Guild as well as other members of the community of artists and professional museum personnel. The staff's interest often led to their discussing the project with persons outside of the museum; and frequently in beginning an interview with someone unknown to me, I would discover that the way had been paved by a staff member's already having discussed the project with the respondent, thereby securing for me greater cooperation in the face-to-face interview.

During the two and one-half years of field work all phases of museum activities were observed and many were participated in directly--I worked for the membership department during the membership campaigns; I did volunteer work in the education department; I substituted for the librarian when others were not available; I attended lectures and openings, observed classes and tours as well as the day-to-day flow of visitors in the museum; I sat and observed new exhibitions being prepared and hung; I attended staff and board meetings--there was no phase of the on-going process from which I was barred. Indeed, rare was the hostile interview or the refusal.

All staff members at the professional level were interviewed concerning the organization of the museum, the publics, their own attitudes and values regarding art and the functioning of the museum. In addition to the professional staff, members of non-professional departments and other administrative personnel were interviewed.

Interviews were also conducted with professionals in other organizations within the city--professors of art at the university, the directors of the city's other two museums, the city historian, the art critics of the newspapers, the directors of the leading galleries of the city, and the director of the arts and crafts school. The long period of observation and participation allowed me to talk with members of the Board of Directors and the Women's Guild in informal but usually extremely fruitful encounters.

In addition to this material and based on the insights derived from observation, questionnaires were developed for those parts of the study that could not be adequately handled by direct interviewing. A random sample of the general membership was drawn from the membership file. One hundred names were included in this sample, and the original mailing and a follow-up reminder resulted in a 67 per cent response. A random sample of former members was drawn from the museum's files, and without a follow-up a fifty per cent response was achieved (30 - 15). A questionnaire was sent to all of the city's art teachers at the grade and high school level, and again a 60 per cent response was the result. A modified expert-judgment technique was used to develop a list of the fifty most-recommended artists of the area. Leading artists (those who had won prizes at the area show), the leading gallery directors and the museum staff were asked to name twenty of the best artists in all media and styles; and from these lists the fifty names occurring most frequently were selected for the sample. Further research indicated that the selection was a broad one for both style and media. Without a follow-up a 50 per cent return was achieved on this questionnaire. No follow-up was used because there was an unusually high percentage (30 per cent) of artists who refused to answer the questionnaire in no uncertain terms, making further pressure for their cooperation seem useless.

Questionnaires were sent to a sample of the Women's Guild and to all of the Board of Directors. In neither case was a follow-up used because at the time the questionnaire was sent out, the Museum, the Board and the Guild were embroiled in a rather touchy discussion of a new building program; and the Director felt that feelings would be less ruffled by less insistency on cooperation. From my field knowledge of both Board and Build members I cannot see that the sample suffers despite the fact that in both cases only a 50 per cent response resulted.

In writing the report of this research, I have made constant reference to the several types of material--that drawn from observation, from survey data and from interviews. These data allow the analysis to move back and forth among the types--both qualitative and quantitative--giving additional support to the derived results and a richness often missing when only qualitative data are present.

In addition to the field work, the final report is also heavily dependent on the insights derived from a reading of professional museum publications, the published material or the museum under study, a wide reading of the literature on modern art, aesthetics, the history of the museum and the development of American art.

CHAPTER I THE ETHOS OF THE AMERICAN MUSEUM

American museums, like their European counterparts, began as private collections of memorabilia either open to the public at the whim of the owner or closed except to scholars. In Europe and the United States the public museum was not an accepted organization until the late eighteenth century; the American and French Revolutions crystallized public attitudes about the value of collections and the need for them to be public, open to all regardless of class distinctions.[1] The general ethos[2] of the museum as a public organization still owes much to its revolutionary origins. The emphasis on the public nature of the museum, the specification of its role as an educational organization, the designation of its public as the "nation" rather than as an elite class or group - such attitudes stem from the political ideology of the revolutions. Although this ethos persists, the social structure of the American museum assumes its typical form only in the twentieth century. And it is only in the middle decades of the twentieth century that the period of major growth occurs for the museums. Taking into consideration all the possible forms of museums,

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[1] For a general summary of the history of the museum see Alma S. Wittlin, The Museum - Its History and Its Tasks (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1949).

[2] I reject the term "ideology" because of the pejorative connotation of the term in Karl Mannheim's formulation - either in its particular sense, which implies a calculated distortion of the real nature of something, or in its general sense that the real meaning of any system of ideas or values can be understood only by reference to the origin of that meaning in the life-situation of those propounding it. Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company , 1949), pp. 49-50. César Graña speaks of museums having "ideologies" in this Mannheimian sense:

> Museums, then,have ideologies. Some of them have been solemn, elegant, "elitist"; others evangelistically democratic or piously utilitarian. And, from the social scientists..., one might conclude that museum-going is one of the rituals of contemporary, post-traditional civilization. These contentions and disparities, however, will become understandable if we look into the fabric of ambiguity and paradox which lies behind museums and their history.

"The Private Lives of Public Museums", Trans-action, VOL. 4, No. 5, (April, 1967), p. 21. In place of this term I suggest the less loaded word "ethos", which suggests the characteristic and distinguishing attitudes of a group or, in this case, a profession.

> ...one third of the nation's museums have been established since 1950. In the first three years of this decade a new museum was established every 3.3 days.[1]

In rate of growth the art museum ranked fourth in the 1940's, fourth in the 1950's and fifth in the 1960's - with 350 art museums at the close of the 1940's and 493 listed by 1965.[2]

The year 1906 saw the founding of the American Association of Museums, the first and still the primary professional association for museum workers in the United States; and in 1946 an international association for museums was established under the aegis of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Professionalization of museum practices and personnel was an established fact before the major period of museum development and before the "explosion" in attendance during the 1950's and 1960's.[3]

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[1] American Association of Museums, A Statistical Survey of Museums in the United States and Canada (Washington, D. C., 1965), p. 11. See also pages 9-10 for the classification of museum types. Concerning the quotation, I assume that "this decade" refers to the 1950's, although the text is unclear.

[2] Ibid., p. 15.

[3] The rate of increase in attendance now exceeds that of the rate of population increase in the United States. Ibid., p. 16.

The value system of the American museum was established relatively early; the organizational form of the museum crystallized much later; and the attempt by museum personnel to legitimate their occupation as a profession intervenes between the acceptance of the value system and the development of the organizational structure. The stages of this historic process are important for they belie the too facile assumption that the major force in the development of the museum was its move from a private "elite" to a "public" stance.[1] Instead of the simpler analysis of an organization forced by public pressures to change its system of values from "elite" to "public" and its organizational structure from "closed" to "open", a far more complex and subtle tangle of processes must be analyzed: the process of the adaptation of a long-established, relatively democratic and equalitarian ethos to professional standards; the interaction between the ethos and the developing organizational form of the museum and between the professionalization of the occupation and the structure of the museum organization; the mediation of the professional standards and values between the original ethos and the current public attitudes about museums, which run the gamut from the "elitism" of the critics to the "democratic" stance of the defenders of contemporary culture; the process of organizational changes as both the public nature of the museum and the emphasis on professionalization influence its structure, sometimes in conflicting directions.

In considering the variety of opinion, attitude and ethos expressed in the various professional and art publications in the United States, it is first of all apparent that no single and widespread set of values and opinions dominates the field. The various components of the formal organizational base and the diverse communications channels of the art bailiwick do not share a uniform perspective or set of values about goals and problems. At least two distinct directions may be discerned. There is, first of all, a professional system of standards and values. This professional system incorporates the attempt to legitimize museology as a profession with specialized skills and an esoteric lore, and a democratic ethos not quite so missionary as that of ICOM. The ethos of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) - sponsored by UNESCO - represents a second position and one to which many professionals in the United States are profoundly dedicated. This ethos stresses the need for enlightened leadership - professional, elite or government - for the creation of "cultural equality."

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[1] See, for instance, César Graña, Ibid., pp. 20-25.

The official professional system of values and standards has for its forum the many professional journals of the museum field. Examples are: Museum News, the official publication of the American Association of Museums (A.A.M.); the various "Publications" - single, larger-scale works - of the Association; The Curator; The Museologist; the various area journals - for example, Midwest Museums Quarterly; the publications of specific museums - such as Lore, published by the Milwaukee Public Museum; and the publications of the College Art Association.

In this professional forum the values and ethics of the museum field are considered; the professional code of ethics is formulated and arguments concerning it are ventilated; discussions of the proper professional tasks of the museum are considered; the social role of the museum and the professional implications of the role are examined; and specific studies relating to the technical aspects of the museology field are published. The American Association of Museums published, in 1925, the Code of Ethics which has prevailed until the present; a new code is now being formulated. In this early expression of the Association's values, the role of the museum is characterized as follows:

> Museums, in the broadest sense, are institutions which hold their possessions in trust for mankind and for the future welfare of the race. Their value is in direct proportion to the service they render the emotional and intellectual life of the people.[1]

This statement reflects the direction American museums have taken from the beginning - a direction idiosyncratic to American museums until very recently, when their standards and stance have been emulated by museums around the world. Instead of the custodial and curatorial emphasis of European museums, the primary raison d'être of the American museum has been public service; and over the years public service has come to mean education above all other functions. As early as 1888, George Brown Goode of the National Museum of the United States wrote: "It is not what a museum has but what it does with what it has that counts."[2] And as recently as 1967, during the discussions relating to a new code of ethics for the American Museum Association, the following model was recommended for study:

> ...the word"museum" shall be deemed to mean a non-profit, permanent establishment, not existing primarily for the purpose of conducting temporary exhibitions,. . open to the public and administered in the public interest, for the purpose of conserving and preserving, studying,

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[1] The American Association of Museums, Code of Ethics for Museum Workers (New York: American Association of Museums, 1925), p. 2.

[2] Quotation from mimeographed speech presented by W. Stephen Thomas at an International Council of Museums meeting in Paris, November, 1964. "The Museum as a Communicator", p. 3.

> interpreting, assembling and exhibiting to the public and for its instruction and enjoyment, objects and specimens of educational and cultural value...[1]

Furthermore, it was also suggested that the definition of responsibilities for the museum worker was based predominantly on a professional code of ethics.

> A member shall at all times have in mind that he is under great obligation to all who have made museology a dignified and learned profession, and he shall endeavor to give recognition to that obligation in every appropriate way.
> Upon accepting a position in a museum a member assumes an obligation to maintain ethical standards of conduct in relationship to:
> A. The Governing *Authority* under which he practices
> B. The *Museum* and its staff
> C. The *Museum Materials* in his care
> D. Other members of the *Profession*
> E. The *Public*[2]

This is not to imply that custodial and curatorial functions[3] are considered unimportant within the professional field. In fact, these concerns are subjected to rigorous standards; violations of these standards are often subject to discussion in the journals, and directors known to tolerate such delicts are publicly denounced.[4] Adequate and valid proofs of authenticity, valid labeling of attribution, the public notation of restoration of whole objects or parts of objects, proper care to avoid damage to objects either in storage or on display, the selection of objects for the collection or for exhibition on the basis of their inherent value and not because of some financial gain that might accrue because of their display - the inculcation of such standards is part of every course in museology, and the standards themselves are universally recognized by museum professionals. One of the justifications of the rigorous application of such standards by professionals is that to educate the audience a museum must be absolutely forthright and candid about its exhibitions and collection. To delude the public about the authenticity of an object invalidates the educational experience of that object.

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[1] R. Alan Douglas, "A Code of Ethics: Practice and Policy," *Museum News*, Vol. 45, No. 5 (January, 1967), p. 19.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 19. Emphasis is the author's.

[3] It is traditional within the museum occupations to distinguish between curatorial and custodial functions - although in practice the two are often difficult to differentiate. Custodial functions are those designed to keep the collections in good condition; curatorial, to keep them in good order. Custodial duties regularly cover the care, maintenance and housing of collections. Curatorial duties relate to the establishing of provenance, correct attributions, adequate labeling, and the research necessary to establish these and to keep the records on the collection up to date for public inspection, research, reference and loans.

[4] See the public display of dirty linen in "Dark Days in Sunny California", *Arts Magazine*, Vol. 49, No. 6 (April, 1966), pp. 17-18. This is a reprint of the letter of resignation of Miriam and Charles Lindstom from San Francisco's M. H. DeYoung Memorial Museum.

The ethos of the American museum profession is rooted in eighteenth-century concepts of human nature and art although overlaid with more modern values and attitudes. That art has merit and value is a primary assumption not unlike the eighteenth-century view that therein lie goodness, truth and beauty. Art, therefore, is enriching and enlightening - not simply an object, but a process of growing awareness and perception generated by the contemplation of an object of art. Furthermore, such an experience is open to anyone, not only to those of trained sensibilities. This position is based on an assumption of the equality and, ultimately, the perfectibility of all men. The experience of art is the experience of truth and beauty - the making of a better man.

From this basic foundation the professional ethos has developed to become by the time of World War I a consistently presented and elaborated point of view. The implications of this ethos have been important for the structure of the museum, its position within the community and for the kinds of services it offers. Perhaps the single most important feature of the ethos is the dedication to democratic values, viewing the museum as an organization open to and even wooing the public.

> The museum is one of the most democratic places there is. Everything in it comes together in an abstract world... Political ideologies, creed, class, race, color fall away. A great museum is a creation of passion, the passion of many individuals, and when it is that, it is an institution which profoundly affects its city. It becomes automatically a center of intellectual and creative life.[1]

Hence the importance of education in its broadest ramifications. Both the audience for art and the experience of art are limitless: the audience for art should extend to all social groups, classes and levels of education; the experience of art should extend throughout one's lifetime - from childhood to old age. And while its importance to the better educated is taken for granted, its importance for the uneducated or poorly educated is immeasurable. In the words of one American director, the museum is "the people's university." One of the important missions of the museum is, thus, the education of the less well educated. "/Museums/ should be great centers of instruction on the popular level."[2]

One of the tasks of the museum then becomes making art as accessible as possible to all levels of the possible audience. Hence in exhibitions the care to make the display as meaningful as possible, to create the milieu in which the art was developed in order to give the widest experience of the object, to give adequate, valid data about the object and to present the information in such a way that those who are novices learn much and those who are educated are not bored. In the field of education the attempt is to furnish programs on different levels - techniques, aesthetics and history. To this end art tours, lectures, slides, arts and crafts classes, television, films and exhibitions are all dedicated. The professional journals are replete with articles on the best display and exhibition techniques, the organization of education programs to include all levels of the audience, the capturing of an audience from those social classes less likely to use the facilities. The major impression derived from a perusal of the professional museum journals is that of consensus on the level of value system and attention to the more microscopic and practical problems arising in the field given such a Weltanschauung.[1]

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[1] William A. Milliken, "The Museum as a Community Center," Art in America, Vol. 34, No. 4 (October, 1946), p. 226. Mr. Milliken was at this time the Director of the Cleveland Museum of Art.

[2] Grace L. McCann Morley, "Exhibitions," Art in America, Vol. 34, No. 5 (October, 1946), p. 195.

Certain other contemporary concerns have developed out of the basically democratic ethic of professional museum values. Although public service and the "uplift" of the public have always been central to the professional's goals, formerly these goals had been justified by a vague desire to raise public standards and to create an audience for the arts - an audience benefiting by such interests and thereby creating a better nation. The museum would, therefore, play a central role within the community to the extent that it developed and sustained such an audience.

> If you want good art education in your schools, you have to have an alert, informed adult group which will insist on a higher quality of teaching. Museums can and do

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[1] For a sample of the types of articles appearing in the professional journals see Appendix I, pp.   However, even in this context the consensus must be qualified. The College Art Association does not share this perspective. See below.

> help to produce an informed population through their adult art education programs which will eventually elevate the standards of the entire community.[1]

There is current concern about the community orientation of the museum but for very different reasons. This concern is, in part, the result of the museum's perennial pursuit of fluid funds: local and national governments in the past decades have been loathe to grant funds except on the condition that a number of "cultural" organizations combine in the building program. The question of the ultimate effects of such centralization has not been discussed as much in the professional journals (since the professionals have an understandable but not excusable proclivity for not "looking gift horses in the mouth") as in the public press and in civic arguments that have arisen over proposed centralized fine art centers.

The emphasis on public service and the convertibility of this rubric into "education" as the prime function of the museum has also been spurred by a singular historical accident. The legislative branch of the government in 1954 excluded museums from tax-exempt status on the grounds that they were an extravagance of the upper classes and not educational organizations for the general public. Since that time the Association of American Museums has exercised itself continually to get a reversal of this judgment, finally with success. And in the process the educational goals and activities of all museums have been increasingly publicized and extended. Public donations, the life-blood of the museum, are still minimal compared to the total $8.2 billion raised for all philanthropic causes;

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[1] Otto Wittmann, "The Museum and Art Education," Museum News, Vol. 41, No. 10 (June, 1963), p. 23.

"...museums (of all types) have received a disproportionately small fraction of this total, estimated at just over one per cent of the total."[1]

Two current social shibboleths have also been adapted to museum needs and have been the source of much discussion in the professional journals - the need for "creative expression" and "meaningful communications." The educational emphasis on free, untrammeled expression as the key to the mystery of "creativity" has been much in vogue among museum professionals. Like its school-situated counterpart, it tends to become a "mystique" among some of the art teachers within the museums as well as among other museum professionals. It has been a significant determinant for the tenor of children's classes in particular - adults have tended to demand more formal and technical training. There has been relatively little negative discussion of the merits of this approach to the teaching of the plastic or graphic arts in the professional journals despite the fact that it raises particularly sensitive issues regarding the maintaining of standards of excellence and criteria of judgment - two of the main purposes of museum education programs as defined by those critical of this approach and, when questioned, by most museum professionals. It is noteworthy that in most formal statements of the professional museum credo such purposes are left unstated.

Today, much is being made over "communication" as a major purpose of the museum. Again, here, it is possible to read "education" and be perfectly within the intended meaning. The emphasis is particularly on making the individual more aware of the total world around him, of the insights, pleasures and knowledge to be derived from artistic "communication," and on lessening the parochialism of the average person. The museum is seen, officially, as an organization which communicates to all classes, races and ethnic groups through the medium of art with its universal language. The end result of such communication is understood to be greater tolerance and understanding of others - again, a better fellow man.

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[1] Richard P. Trenbeth, "This Business of Museum Development," Museum News, Vol. 40, No. 7 (March, 1962) p. 17.

Thus far, I have stressed three aspects of the professional ethos: 1) the traditional skills and the esoteric lore associated with the custodial and curatorial functions of the museum, 2) the dedication of the museum and its services to the widest possible public, 3) education as the prime service rendered by the museum. Leaving the first of these considerations aside for the moment, we can inquire what the implications of the last two have been for the American museum. The oft-repeated affirmation that no single class, no special groups, but the public-at-large is the focus of museum attention has bearing on the role of art as well as the way in which the public is perceived. While it is accepted as part of the official ethos that art does have "uplifting" qualities, it is also accepted that these qualities cannot be manifested when art is buried in a morgue-like museum. Museums must be made to "come alive" for the public, to inspire, to arouse curiosity. Art has no effect, except for the initiated, unless activated by the museum. One consequence of this attitude has been the attempt to transform the museum from an austere showroom into a comfortable yet elegant living room - a transformation still giving rise to argument in professional and other art media.

And if the museum must play an active role in capturing the public for art, then it follows that the public is seen as passive; the public must be at most cajoled, or at least invited, to participate. One aspect of this consideration has been the development of an extremely wide variety of offerings for the public to choose from - "something for everybody" is indeed the catchword of the modern museum. Consistently the purport of this position has been that the audience is not treated as a homogeneous mass. It is recognized throughout the museum world that, in fact, the organization is handling a highly differentiated public, a public of many interests, a public which can be appealed to at many levels. This makes a highly differentiated program of exhibitions and education mandatory for the museum; it makes the museum's tasks far more complicated than the assumption of a mass audience would.

Implications for the manner in which the art-experience is viewed are also present in this position. Most of the professionals would also agree that the art-experience is, can be, and should be as differentiated as the audience. Many different kinds of experiences are considered legitimate by the museum profession - from pure play and entertainment to art-for-art's-sake. Thus children's classes directed at creative expression rather than quality are considered as legitimate as formal classes in perspective; art travel films are considered a legitimate method for educating an audience; slides are a justified method of study when originals are lacking.

Many of these implications - both for the value system and for the practice of the museums - would be taken as indicators of the decline of standards, quality and the proper functions of museums by the critics of contemporary culture. Art as a single, uniform experience of a specific type is undermined, these critics argue, by the museum's attempts to integrate many different kinds of experience under the rubric "art"; making the museum into an elegant salon for the multitudes trivializes the experience and the art and allows the masses to share in a counterfeit form of art; appeals by the museum for droves of visitors blasphemes the purpose and meaning of art and undermines the dignity of the museum.

However, as pointed out in the Introduction, the validity of the critics' position with regard to the homogeneity of the audience is open to doubt; their formulation of the limited and ideal art-experience is questioned by contemporary aestheticians; and there would seem to be no inherent reason why a museum could not present valid, quality performances and exhibitions at many different levels. A diverse presentation does not preclude the high quality of the whole or the individual parts. Insufficient funds, lack of trained staff members for such a complicated program, the over-extension of staff and collections, inadequate preparation - all or any of these factors could indeed sabotage the quality of the performance now deemed essential for most community museums. Maintaining the quality of museum presentation, then, would appear to be more a matter of trimming the diversification to fit the budget and the staff than of closing the doors to anyone but scholars and aesthetes. Decisions about such matters are more meaningful when seen as matters of relative priorities rather than as absolutes.

Whether or not the ethos pushes the museum in certain directions and what the consequences are proves to be a far more complex problem than the critics of contemporary culture would suggest. For instance, the way the museum professionals relate to the members of the elite - social, economic or political - is linked both to the development of esoteric professional skills and tasks and to the need for increased public participation.

The formal professional ethos has always looked askance at the more frivolous pursuits desired by the lay brothers of the museum - charity balls in the cloisters, fashion shows in the sculpture courts, ladies' teas in the portrait gallery. While free and easy within the purview of their professional definition - allowing wide discretion in the definition of art and of standards - the professionals tend to be fierce in their insistence on the exclusion of popular social forms of entertainment from the museum. Outside the traditional form of the vernissage, the professionals would readily dispense with most "social" occasions - teas after lectures, membership campaign dinners, cocktail parties for donors. And, in fact, over the years professional insistence has successfully whittled down the number and kinds of social affairs that may occur within the museum's walls.

The professional viewpoint eschews the "circus" notion of museum activities - both for the social activities that accompany the year-round calendar of events and for the quality of exhibition offered to the public. Editorial comment against sheer entertainment and simple catering to public interest in the selection of exhibition materials or lecture topics in order to increase attendance is a constant feature of the professional journals. Dismay is shown when audience surveys report large percentages of visitors regarding their trips to the museum as "good recreational pastime".[1] Concomitantly, however, it is noted in many professional journal articles that art still holds a residual position within our general culture - that it is a relatively unimportant institutional area and that it is considered by most a "pastime" or a recreational form rather than a centrally significant concern.[2]

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[1] Edward J. Smits, "A Suburban Museum Looks at its Visitors," Museum News, Vol. 42, No. 9 (May, 1964), p. 34.

[2] Rudolph E. Morris, "The Museum as Communicator," Museum News, Vol. 43, No. 5 (January, 1965), p. 27.

The professional point of view is most clearly distinguished from that of ICOM by the attitudes about the social position of the museum and the way the museum should relate to the social elite. Today part of the mystique of museology lies in the rejection of the museum as a social center for the upper classes. "Let not the museum be a morgue" could be the motto of most of the profession. And the museum as morgue is associated in the minds of the professionals with that period when the social elite dominated the organizational structure of the museum, of that period before the profession of museology rescued the organization. The coldness of the display and the building, the aloofness of the museum staff and the snobbery of the membership are all interpreted as characteristic of a period before the rise of professionalism and before the dedication of museum services to the public.

The consecration of the museum to public service, to the community or the nation-as-a-whole, was one way in which power could be wrested away from the hands of the elite. The adoption of a public stance rather than a private one with regard to services, of a democratic ethos rather than an elitist one, if it did not eliminate the power of the social elite at least limited its hegemony. The museum of old was a morgue because it placed art in a vacuum. This meant that art had a restricted and limited role in the life of the society - a residual role - determined in large measure by the aura of wealth and class snobbery that infected most museums fifty years ago. Art became taboo for the general public because of the association between art and the social elite.[1]

Another method for limiting the effect of the elite was the development of an occupation so skilled in its curatorial and educative functions that long apprenticeship and post-graduate education would be mandatory. Events within the museum justified this development. As collections grew in size and worth, special care in handling and repairing, special skills for recording and researching their authenticity, special knowledge for judging and establishing attributions were mandatory.

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[1] Ibid., p. 27.

Consequently the professional journals indicate two major areas of concern. The valid concern for skills, special knowledge and techniques relating to the housing and display of, and research on, the museum's treasures continues to fill many pages within the journals. Second, there is the attempt to establish the museum as a public and not a limited, class-based organization. Hence the universal and anxious concern shown repeatedly in the professional journals about the "nose-count," on the one hand, and ways of attracting and holding the audience on the other. There is a constant stream of articles concerning the problem of numbers - how they are attracted; what attracts them; from whom they receive information about the museum; what social classes come; what the education level of the audience is. And consequently, now, an annual report would be considered quite incomplete without the report of the total number of visitors (no matter how inadequate the counting procedure). The professional journals give every evidence of having become the victims of the number fetish. There is also the constant and excruciatingly minute study of the exhibition-mounting problem - how much information should accompany the exhibition; what devices should be used for the dissemination of information and their effectiveness; on entering a gallery does the visitor turn to the right or the left and should this be taken into account in mounting the exhibition (it has been discovered that the average person turns to the right!);

should objects be presented by period, by style, accompanied by other objects of the age, in what kind of lighting? These and similar problems fill the pages of the professional journals year after year and all in quest of a constantly stimulated and numerically increased audience.

The blanket assumption that increased audiences are necessary is determined in part by the professional ethos that assumes art to be an integral part of Everyman's life; but it is also, and unfortunately, determined by the need for increased revenues. And increased revenues are only too often justified by those who hold the purse strings on the grounds of audience size. However, the basic antagonism between the crowding of large numbers into small-spaced museums, with the resulting difficulty of "seeing" once one gets inside, and the value of unhampered contemplation and constant observation is rarely, if ever, discussed in the professional journals.

The professional journals and publications of the field of museology stress the public role of the museum - particularly its educational role - concurrently with an emphasis on the increasing "professionalization" of workers within this field. The stress on education, on increasing the public acceptance of and attendance at museums, and the constant need to appeal to the public for financial aid all conspire to push at least a part of the public stance - the ethos - of the museum into an anti-elitist and democratic position. At the same time, the professional pull works in an opposing direction: greater concern for the veracity of presentation, greater insistence on the adequacy of educational presentation, more intimate contact with the museum-goer either directly or through more adequate educational devices, an increasing horror of hucksterism and nose-counting, and a qualified anti-elitist stand that is advantageous in circumscribing the role of the social elite within the museum organization and maximizing the need for professional personnel.

Potential conflict exists between the public service aspect of museum organization, deemed necessary for financial support, and the demand for the application of professional standards in all such services. The conflict centers around the something-for-everyone gambit to secure a large, financially supportive public. And the problem here becomes whether or not the museum can withstand turning such a gambit into a giving-the-public-what-it-wants move. The ethos, by not distinguishing between these two moves, does not protect the quality of performance; it is left for the ethical sensitivity of museum staffs to delineate the difference between setting the pace or following the demands of the audience.

There is, furthermore, potential conflict between the social elites and the professionals within the museum organization. It is only too possible that the professionals, interpreting themselves as the legitimate decision-makers and value-carriers for the museum, come into conflict with that part of the organization most easily labeled as elite - the boards of directors or trustees. Such boards constitute visible limits to the degree of control that can be assumed by the professional staffs; they stand as symbols of the community. The professionals pay lip-service to the value of serving the community and are well aware that most boards are highly selective in their recruitment. Consequently conflict could easily arise over the social composition of the boards, or the limiting of their power over decision-making, or the board's resentment of professional ambitions or pretensions.

Another potential conflict is one residing in the division of labor within the museum. While most of the highly technical skills involve the curatorial functions of the museum, such functions are seen in the official ethos as secondary to the educative function. Work within education departments has limitations for well-trained museum workers because the audience is usually not a professional audience. Work within curatorial departments has built-in frustrations because while curatorial skills most clearly justify the assumption of the "professional" label, the work of such professionals is often forced to take a back seat to the work of the education staff.

Such conflicts are part of the unexamined potential problems arising from the ambiguities of the professional code. Such problems are rarely discussed within the professional association journals. Nor are they discussed in the publications of ICOM, which, if anything, represents an even more radical and conflictive ethos than does the professional American stance.

The primary missions of the museum, according to ICOM, are educational and cultural. The museum is the preceptor of all humanity, integrating the individual into the total human community - national and international. This mission is accomplished by presenting the best and most worthy aspects of the past and by taking the pains to make such material intelligible to the entire public.[1] In a sense ICOM sees the museum as the modern means of humanizing the world - it sees the work of the museum as Matthew Arnold saw the work of "culture". However, while it teaches it also gives pleasure - no sterile, forbidding cultural wasteland is envisioned, but rather the pleasure palace that enlightens as it delights. A natural concomitant of this position is the extreme stress in ICOM publications that "the museum must direct itself to the whole public."[1] Again and again the "right" of all persons to be addressed by and invited to the museum is emphasized.

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[1] A mimeographed report of an international meeting, held in Paris, November 27, 1964, for the purpose of setting up an international code on the educational and cultural role of museums. See Appendix 2, pp.

Part of this mission may be described as social - the creation of a public sensitive to aesthetic values and more complete as human beings through the humanizing influence of art.

> Education is, however, more than either of these, and many people today are fearful of an over-development of the human intellect at the expense of the emotions. They see the purpose of education as being not mainly the memorizing of facts or a training in logic, but as aiming primarily at the development of imagination and sensitivity. The influence of museums on this aspect of human development can be immense; they are, by definition, custodians of quality and merely looking at things of beauty and interest can stimulate and foster an awareness of both truth and beauty.[2]
>
> Museums combine education with recreation, and both these words connote a very wide range of fields. To what major end are museum activities really directed? To the broader education of the user so that he or she may lead a fuller life and be a better member of the community. From the recreational point of view the museum fulfils a similar purpose by enlarging the emotional response of the individual to his environment and easing him of some of the worries and restraints of such environmental handicaps as the harsh struggle of earning a living or the grim surroundings of a factory community. Eyes concentrated on day-to-day tasks are lifted to wider horizons as more and more interesting fields of exploration are opened up; a new

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[1] Ibid., p. 1.

[2] Molly Harrison, "Education in Museums," The Organization of Museums (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1960), p. 81.

> range of emotions can be experienced as the arts and handicrafts of other people and other races are displayed and, though perhaps but little understood at first, gradually become more familiar and more deeply appreciated. The goal of any museum is service to the public and that service must be conceived of as the building up of a better, more thoughtful, and happier public. It is true that in most places the public is composed of a very varied assemblage of people of all ages, of a wide range of educational backgrounds and of almost unlimited interests, and the wise museum curator caters for as many types as possible in his permanent displays. He does his best to reach those with more specialized interests and at the same time to bring about a broadening of general interests by staging temporary exhibitions. Whatever he does, his goal is always the enlightenment of his public.[1]

Such a forthright statement of this social impact is rarely found in the American professional journals, where the socializing influences of art are less emphasized. The social mission united with a political mission presents a formidable ethos. The political mission envisioned by ICOM is to "...create cultural equality as one of the fundamental outgrowths of our new democracy."[2] The agents of such equality in the past have been the enlightened patrons.

> As private philanthropy declines in proportional scale of giving today, government becomes invested with the social consciousness largely reserved for enlightened individual benefactors of the past.[3]

The agents for creating social equality are, then, elites. Formerly the private patron was the agent for such social changes; now it is the professional museum worker supported by his government. Since leadership is necessary for public enlightenment and for institutionalizing social equality, Arnold's man of culture becomes the "true apostle." The following quotation from Arnold could well represent the attitude found among ICOM members as to the legitimacy of their missionary claims:

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[1] Douglas A. Allan, "The Museum and its Functions," Ibid., pp. 24-25.

[2] S. Dillon Ripley, Museums in Today's Changing Worlds, (New York: Seventh General Conference of the International Council of Museums, 1965), p. 2. (mimeographed).

[3] Ibid., p. 2.

> ...culture works differently. It does not try to teach down to the level of inferior classes; it does not try to win them for this or that sect of its own, with ready-made judgments and watchwords. It seeks to do away with classes; to make the best that has been thought and known in the world current everywhere; to make all men live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light, where they may use ideas, as it uses them itself, freely, - nourished and not bound by them.
>
> This is the social idea; and the men of culture are the true apostles of equality. The great men of culture are those who have had a passion for diffusing, for making prevail, for carrying from one end of society to the other, the best knowledge, the best ideas of their time; who have laboured to divest knowledge of all that was harsh, uncouth, difficult, abstract, professional, exclusive; to humanise it, to make it efficient outside the clique of the cultivated and learned, yet still remaining the best knowledge and thought of the time, and a true source, therefore, of sweetness and light.[1]

Such a position closely parallels that of Karl Mannheim:

> In all spheres of cultural life, the functions of such elites is to express cultural and psychological forces in a primary form and to guide collective extraversion and introversion; they are responsible for cultural initiative and tradition.[2]

In short the ICOM position is an unqualified call for the leadership of a professional elite both within the museum organization and throughout the cultural sphere of the nations.[3] In this ethos the museum is not only an educational force; it becomes an important political power, and its professionals are potential members of the cultural and political elite - an aggrandizing ethos for a politically impotent occupation.

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[1] Matthew Arnold, Culture and Anarchy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), p.70.

[2] Karl Mannheim, Man and Society im an Age of Reconstruction, pp. 84-85.

[3] I understand this position as a "politicizing" of art - the use of art for the attainment of political ends. This represents a very different position from that of the American museum professional discussed above, for whom an extreme caution against any political connotations in the use of museum publications or displays is the rule. See, for instance, the recent (1969) controversy over the political connotations of the Metropolitan Museum's "Harlem on My Mind" exhibition.

The ICOM ethos represents an extreme elitist position with regard to the problems of control and values within the organization. Such control and values are legitimately set only by the professional elite of the museum profession. In many ways, the position of ICOM is similar to the position of the critics of contemporary culture. Both assert the necessity of elite guidance in cultural matters, both assert the functional benefits of elite leadership for cultural organizations, and both tend to view art with missionary fervor - art humanizes man; art is the pinnacle of human endeavor; art is the means of assessing the cultural status of a nation. ICOM represents a radical justification and legitimation of not only the profession of museology but also the professional museum elite. The role of both the profession and the elite is validated for activities far beyond the scope of the less pretentious American professional claims. When the scope is so global, the setting of practical limits to the concerns and programs of a museum becomes a problem. In no way does the ICOM ethos limit this scope. In no way does it provide a practical guide for museum activities, except in the sense of offering technical expertise for specific curatorial problems. As with the American professional ethos, guidance in policy matters tends to be divorced from guidance in technical matters. Whereas the latter is excellent and to the point, the former tends to have little or no relevance for the setting of specific tasks, the pursuit of general goals, or the maintenance of standards of excellence. An exhortation to reform the universe is the guide for policy and goals in the ICOM ethos. The extent to which obeisance is paid to this position cannot be over-estimated. In print I found no instance of criticism of ICOM's position; and in interviews, various directors all insisted on their basic acceptance of this ethos as the guiding force behind the United Nations Committee, although admitting that there were practical problems in carrying out such a policy.

While the professional journals have tended to underplay differences in basic policy and ethos, the general art magazines and journals and the "little mags" have long been a forum for opposition to the "establishment art world." _Art News_, _Arts Magazine_, _Art in America_, _Daedalus_, newspaper critics' columns (particularly in the _New York Times_), _Arts in Society_, and others too numerous to mention are constantly ragging the "establishment" and one another about policy issues, what the "real ethos" should be, what the "real museum" should be - _et cetera_. These journals and magazines also represent a _professional_ forum in the sense that they are concerned with standards of excellence and quality and with the ethics of the museum and art fields, utilize technical experts as consultants and as writers, and define themselves as professional. It is here that any opposition to the ethos of ICOM or the more subdued educational ethos of the rest of the professional field is exposed. In this forum James Johnson Sweeney may express the following sentiment:

> Art should never be spoon-fed nor offered in capsule, digested form. Yet this is what is being essayed in our museums today, simply because museum trustees or perhaps even museum directors are ambitious to embrace the broadest possible public and, in our democratic age, have not the courage to face the fact that the highest experiences of art are only for the elite who "have earned in order to possess"![1]

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[1] James Johnson Sweeney, "The Artist and the Museum," Daedalus, Vol. 89, No. 2, (Spring, 1960), p. 357. Mr. Sweeney was, at that time, Director of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum of New York City.

While such a sentiment by no means characterizes the general policy of these journals and magazines, and while, in fact, it cannot be said that there exists a uniform climate of opinion among them, their significance lies in the fact that in them, opposition to official policy is expounded, important issues buried under the technical "déformation professionnelle" of the museology journals and the acquiescence of the arts and museum field to ICOM policies are brought into the open - albeit, concerning ICCM, this is more covert than overt.

Within these publications more space is devoted to critical evaluation of what the immense growth in the numbers of American museums means for the quality of programs and collections. Against the main current of opinion in the professional association journals, critical attitudes are taken against the bland assumption that growth is good. Another object of reverence among the professional association members often assessed in such forums is the obsession with numbers and "the public". Frequently it is pointed out that only fragments of the public are interested in art as a continuing experience, that only a small part of the public has the training and ability to judge art. The museum is accused of "spoon-feeding" the public, of attempting publicity gimmicks to arouse interest, of pursuing the outlandish and shocking as a means of tantalizing jaded palates.[1]

Virtually no expression is given to the idea, in any of the three general forums under discussion, that the museum should be an exclusive, limited-access organization. Furthermore there is no assent to the view that the organization should be devoted to the tastes and predilections of an elite audience. The absence of such attitudes is, indeed, striking when one considers the stridence of the attack by the critics of contemporary culture with its demands for the maintenance and necessity of limited-access, elite-oriented organizations. While there are widely held and highly differentiated opinions within those fields which are professionally involved, there is at least acceptance of the public quality of the museum. Arguments within the professional field center around the quality and the size of the audience and the implications for the quality of the museum performance - problems relating to both policy and practice for the organization.

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[1] See, for instance, "What Should a Museum Be?" - a whole issue of Art in America devoted to this problem. Vol. 49, No. 2, 1961, pp. 23-45.

CHAPTER TWO THE STRUCTURE OF THE AMERICAN MUSEUM

Many factors have influenced the development of the organizational form of the American museum. The growth in size and complexity of the collections and the services offered to the public is one factor. The availability of a specific service and the community-oriented ethos, discussed in the preceding chapter, are other factors. And since it is the exception to have such organizations supported by state or national funds, the perennial quest for adequate funds has also contributed to the structuring of the organization.

As collections grow, problems of their housing, maintenance, cataloguing, exhibiting grow apace. From small, relatively worthless collections to complex, invaluable treasure troves--such has been the achievement of the major urban museums in the United States. An area of specialization develops with tasks separate and distinct, complex enough in the details of training and time-consuming enough to demand an individual department within the museum walls, where personnel have autonomy and authority over the day-to-day routine involving the collections. Depending on the size and variety of the collections, such departments will be larger or smaller, more or less specialized, single or multiple.

Exhibitions ceased to be an adjunct or unanticipated consequence of collections before the twentieth century, when collections ceased to be an adjunct of the well-traveled. The organization and research necessitated by an exhibition requires a staff of both professional and administrative personnel: organizing the yearly program of exhibitions so that content and timing are coordinated with staff time and museum goals, locating the objects for loan through library research, requesting the loans and arranging for insurance and transportation, research for the exhibition catalog, composition and design for the catalog, organizing the placement of the exhibition, arranging for lectures on and tours of the exhibition, preparing news copy for the public relations department and press on exhibitions, etc. The exhibition department must coordinate its activities with public relations, education and collections; as with all departments, the successful completion of its own work depends on cooperation with other departments in the museum.

As the museum in the United States assumed a community orientation, education departments were developed--departments that increased as the meaning of community education broadened to include ever more services. Lectures on the exhibitions were expanded to general lectures on art and art history; tours were arranged for school children and special workshop classes developed for children and adults; noon-time lunches with lectures a la carte for busy urbanites, as well as teas and talks for the less busy suburbanites, augmented the education program. The museum took to the air waves in radio and television programs, and to wheels in the mobile exhibitions for schools and outlying communities. Museum education staff members were on call for lectures on city planning, preservation of landmarks and historical sites, and beautification programs, as well as for their more usual presentations on art history and appreciation.

Their audiences included not only the captive school children but the paying clientele of leisured housewives and upper-class matrons, settlement-house groups, the blind and the aged; they found themselves talking to both men and women, day and night. Depending on the size of the clientele and the variety of the services, education departments vary in size and organizational complexity.

The increasing specialization of the work surrounding curatorial and exhibition services of the museum as well as the development of educational services--now just fifty years old--emphasizes the professional nature of museum work. The ethos of the museum supports this view of the nature of museum work; and between these two factors the museum has become over time a more professionally-oriented organization. Consequently the professional staff has ties to larger professional associations as well as to the immediate locale of the museum. Such ties increase the number of criterion groups for whom the museum staff performs and whose good opinion is courted.

The community orientation of the ethos has also been of central importance for enforcing the norm of community service for museums and, consequently, for the addition of large education departments within the structure of the museum.

It is not only expansion in such specialized and ultimately professional areas that has accounted for the increasing complexity of the museum organization. Concommitant with such professional development there has been a corresponding specialization in non-professional areas--membership and public relations. Even those museums with grand endowments, even those museums supported by government funds--local or national--for a variety of reasons have added membership and public relations departments to their organizational charts. Such additions have meant the intrusion of non-professional departments into an otherwise predominantly professional organization--thereby increasing the complexity of the total organization. The bifurcation into professional and non-professional departments within the museum is also made on the basis of a broad division of labor--between fund-raising and professional activities. And while such a division looks efficient on paper, within the on-going process of daily museum activities there are many a conflict and puzzle over the proper assignment of specific tasks and priorities.

The quest for funds to support an organization with such a wide scope of activities has made appeals to the broader community necessary. The impact of the ethos on the organization, however, has lent a legitimation to this public appeal far beyond that of the justification of pecuniary survival. The museum belongs to the public, is dedicated to the general public; therefore this same public, so the ethos claims, should support the museum in order to support the overt goal of a museum dedicated to and supported by its community. However, a covert goal of some importance to the professionals is also achieved by such broad community support. The professional staff member, chary of the intentions of the wealthy supporters of the museum, and sustained in that cautiousness by the ethos of the profession, desires as broad a public support as possible as one way of controlling the possible interference by the wealthy and of guarding the autonomy of his professional activities.

Consequently, non-professional departments are added to the structure of the American museum in order to increase the efficiency of fund-collecting and of advertising the museum services, but also to ensure that the museum has control over the public contacts. If membership recruitment were left entirely in the hands of members, recruitment would be limited by the socio-economic and status characteristics of current members. The museum can see to it that its own goals of broader membership and coverage in membership campaigns are enforced if such recruitment is in the hands of a department whose members share the service and community goals of the professionals. Simultaneously, the museum controls the access the public has to the organization by channeling contacts through its public relations or membership departments while it protects the professional staff from interference by members and the public and secures autonomy over museum services for the professional museum worker. Such fundamental factors as fund-raising, professional skills, and a professional ethos have formed the setting within which the structure has developed.

The over-all structure is characteristic of normative organizations

> Normative organizations are organizations in which normative power is the major source of control over most lower participants, whose orientation to the organization is characterized by high commitment. Compliance in normative organizations rests principally on internalization of directives accepted as legitimate.[1]

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[1] Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (New York: The Free Press, 1961), p. 40.

Overseeing the entire operation is the director, whose position and role, while primarily professional, are heavily encumbered with administrative detail. Coordinating the efforts of the whole, wielding authority in day-to-day decisions, assuming responsibility for the daily operation--these are the formal duties. At the same time the director is a symbol of the social status and prestige of the museum among the citizens of the community as well as its professional prestige among his professional colleagues. It is not surprising that such a role so frequently degenerates into that of a glorified public relations expert.

The personnel of the various departments and the director constitute the everyday working population of the museum; they have constant contact with each other, feel themselves to be a social unit--a whole--especially when faced by what they define as "outsiders", resolve their intramural disputes enough to present themselves as a "team" in the presence of "others",[1] enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy (although this varies, professional departments having more autonomy than non-professional), and exercise considerable authority over museum affairs despite their formally enjoined subservience to the board of directors. The staff is characterized by great dedication despite long hours and poor remuneration, a belief in the importance of art, and a recognition of the importance and prestige of the professional occupations within the museum. Such organization, attitudes and roles characterize the intramural organization of the museum.

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[1] See Erving Goffman's discussion of these terms in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959), p. 77f.

The formal organization of the museum, however, is not bounded by its walls. Regularly, whether the organization is entirely supported by public funds or entirely dependent upon popular subscription, the formal authority and the policy-making function of the museum is vested in a lay board.[1] That the boards are lay is indicative of the lack of vindication of the professional aspect of museums. Occasionally, when an organization is richly endowed, professionals are found on the board--are, in fact, deemed essential.[2] In addition to the boards, most formal museum charters also specify the establishment of and delegate certain responsibilities to a women's organization that is bound to the museum itself. Consequently the intramural structure and personnel are but part of the picture of the entire museum organization. The important power of policy-making, the ultimate authority of the organization, and decision-making in many areas are formally invested in the lay board. Thus the division of labor within the organization is further specified--the practical operation is carried out intramurally; the decision-making, the policy-making is the burden of the board. Informally, the expectation of public and staff is that the primary role of both the board and women's organization will be in public relations and fund-raising. Usually the women contribute greatly to the fund-raising of the museum; usually, also, the board finds it difficult to accept this responsibility.[1]

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[1] In a report of the American Association of Museums describing a questionnaire research project, it is noted that of the museums (all kinds are considered) responding to the questionnaire, 63.5 per cent are privately governed, and 36.5 per cent publicly governed. Of the privately governed organizations, 82.2 per cent are governed by a corporation, society or association. The overwhelming majority are thus governed by lay boards. The American Association of Museums, A Statistical Survey of Museums in the United States and Canada (Washington, D.C.,1965), p. 25.

[2] I interviewed one director of a richly endowed organization whose board includes some of the most prestigious professional names in the country. He insisted on the necessity of having such members on a museum board in order to focus the purposes of board policy-making. He also felt that lack of professional prestige and recognition as well as the pressures of the "locals" (his board was national in scope) and the timidity of most directors about "boat-rocking" was responsible for the relative absence of professionals from most boards.

The dichotomy between the on-going organization and the board has more ramifications for the values and the structure of the museum than does the split within the museum walls between the professional and non-professional departments. At least the constant contact, the on-going purposive action welds these two disparate intramural parts into one. The non-professional part of the intramural organization takes the professional point of view in most cases and significantly with regard to the board. Consequently for both descriptive and analytic purposes it seems important to be able to distinguish conceptually between these two parts of the whole organization. Therefore to refer to those parts of the museum organization not involved in the day-to-day operation of the museum but nevertheless granted formal existence and powers in the charter of the organization the term "complemenatry organization" will be used. For those parts of the organization concerned with the day-to-day operation of the museum and located within the intramural context of the organization the term "core organization" will be used. There is, therefore, a potential source of conflict between these two parts of the organization insofar as the complementary organization, representing the lay point of view, interprets the role of museum differently from the core organization with its more professional point of view. The conflict is real at times, for at times the entire staff, whether professional or administrative, tends to view th complementary organization as at worst "the enemy" and at best "the outsiders." There is, however, a further dimension to this conflict in the functional split within the intrinsic organization-between the professional (curatorial, education, exhibition, collections) and the administrative, non-professional departments (membership, public relations). The specific boundaries of the museum are consequently unstable; at times the administrative departments align with the complementary organization-especially during the period of the annual membership drive; at times the core organization is unified against the complementary because of some imagined or real depredation; occasionally the complementary and core organizations meet a common foe and are welded into a single,cohesive unit.

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[1] See Appendix 3, below, for a discussion of the role of the museum board of trustees.

The professionalization that has developed within the twentieth century among museum personnel superintending curatorial, exhibition, educational and collection work has important ramifications for the organization. The most important derivative of this development is that the museum is infused with professional standards and values and that the criterion group for the professionals becomes not the immediate local members, board or community but their professional associates at large, the professional organizations, with their more universalistic standards of judgment. Professionalization has allowed the trained staff members to assert themselves against the earlier domination of local "elites", to support universalistic criteria in defining the role of the museum and the services that the museum offers, and to instigate a change in the general ethos of the museum from a closed social to a community organization. Professionalization has also assisted in the crystallization of the organization. The division of labor within the organization has been determined by professional criteria-fund-raising and publicity are universally repudiated as non-professional responsibilities. Consequently as professional responsibilities increased, the relegation of such duties to separate departments within the museum, with separate staffs to assume the obligations, became mandatory. The professional code of responsibilities and ethics further rationalized this division of labor for the professional staff.

For the organization, this process has meant the clarification of the division of labor intramurally and the separation of the functions of the complementary and core organizations. Two areas, however, have been left in considerable confusion-authority and decision-making. The limits of the authority of and the areas of legitimate decision-making by the board are still unresolved problems for most museums. The vagueness of the usual definitions confuses rather than resolves the issues. The most common criterion for separating staff and board decision making and authority is the distinction between policy and operation. The staff controls those decisions pertaining to the daily operation of the museum, the board those that relate to the general policy of the museum. Such a distinction assumes that operational and policy decisions can in fact be separated when all evidence points to the inherent difficulty as well as the impracticability of any attempt to separate them. Both authority and decision-making by the board run afoul of the staff's sense of professional qualifications necessary for decision-making; and the staff's outrage only confirms the board's sense of social superiority.

The perennial quest for funds, whether or not the museum is supported from a public treasury, has also had its effect on the organization of the museum. Since public money is used to support such an organization, whether such funds come from the voluntary donations of the general citizenry or from the official pocket, the American tradition supposes the necessity of public surveillance in order to insure against malfeasance. While many commonweal organizations perform functions that are publicly accepted and respected-churches, hospitals, schools-many others are so situated with regard to the national value system as to be occasionally in need of justification - symphony orchestras, art museums, mental health organizations. The museum stands at a distinct disadvantage because of the general consensus that art is not as important as business or general education or physical health; and surveillance of art organizations places a double responsibility on the persons assigned to this task. In addition to the critical assessment of the use of funds, museum boards are also required to justify to the public the legitimacy of such organizations in the first place. The members of boards drawn traditionally from the wealthiest and most prestigious social groups of the community are usually the proponents of the dominant value system. They are ill-adapted to the public consecration of an activity which even they regard with a degree of skepticism.[1] Board members hold that the museum staff is more responsible for such a justification - the work the staff does, the values the staff holds, the kind of museum that results from the staff's abilities should justify the museum in the public's eye. While they will protect the interests of the museum they will not propagandize for it. The reluctance of most boards to accept the responsibility for public justification and legitimation leaves a rankling doubt in the minds of the staff members of the core organization. If the dedication of the board were equal to that of the staff, the legitimation of the museum or organization would be more easily accomplished- so imagines the professional staff member.

The money problem raises other issues too. The members of boards usually consider fund-raising far too pedestrian an activity for the expertise with which they are accoutered. That task can be left to the distaff side of the complementary organization; such busywork is preeminently an occupation for leisured ladies: so the board rationalizes. And usually the women accept the assignment and the challenge and succeed in providing additional funds for the museum. The staff, however, not accepting in toto the division of labor between the staff and the board, feels that the board should confine itself to fund-raising and not interfere with the operation or the goal-setting for the museum. Rarely does the staff acquiesce in the board's view of the division of labor or in its evaluation of the role of art or of the museum. And since fund-raising is too time-consuming a task to be assigned to professional staff members with other responsibilities, a membership department is established to become the fund-raising arm of the core organization. Consequently within the intramural organization the membership department becomes a pawn between the complementary organization and the professional staff, finding itself pulled in opposing directions as it essays to please first one and then the other.

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[1] See, below, the chapter on "The Complementary Organization," and Appendix 3.

While "membership" in the museum meant, formerly, the acceptance into a closed, high-status group, today it is a means to an end - the end of raising monies necessary to the operation. The budget of the museum depends, in part, on the numbers of "members" enrolled. And the yearly membership campaign is fought out with a reluctant public as if it were a survival issue. Each year both the number of new members to be enlisted and the amount of money to be collected are increased; each year during the month of activity surrounding this event the entire organization and program of the museum is affected.

And the game is to try to find a way of extending to the membership some privileges that are not granted to the whole community. Hence the continuation of such events as the "openings" despite general lack of interest in them, of special lectures limited to the membership, of special teas and hospitality hours arranged for the members - all accomplished at the cost of a certain ambivalence on the part of the staff. For the core organization the "membership" is only one of many audiences deliberately cultivated. It occupies a position of no greater prestige or need as perceived by the staff than many another audience. The "poor", the "aged", the "school children" all form important audiences; all are served by the museum in multifarious ways. The membership department and the complementary organization tend to view the matter differently - those who pay should be privileged. At the same time the membership itself is changing significantly - including an ever- widening range of social group and social class - and with the constant impetus of the staff with its democratic ethos.

While the staff, and often the women's part of the complementary organization, accept the more "open" quality of the membership, and while the membership, so encouraged, does increase in heterogeneity, the board usually remains a closed, self-perpetuating, exclusive enclave within the entire organization of the museum. The characteristics of the board are the result of a self-perpetuating membership; and the extreme visibility of board members, being stellar members of the community, does much to perpetuate the myth of museum elitism among the general population as well as among the higher social strata. At the same time, the board members do little, in the eyes of most staff members to justify their positions of privilege and power in such organizations. The wealthy and the powerful cannot be counted upon to reward the museums for granting them such prestige. And many a director rues the day he placed an incompetent on the board with the sterile notion that the fortune would follow.

A consequence of this dilemma has been the institution of revolving memberships for the board of directors. In order to insure the possibility of removing the dead wood, in order to insure the cooptation of new blood, life-time memberships on such boards are no longer acceptable to most organizations. Since the pool of recruits to the board is extensive - the sizable general membership who contribute generously and upon whom the museum budget depends to great extent - the possibility of selecting alert, dedicated board members should not be an insurmountable task. That boards continue to teas inbred and self-perpetuating as they are, I think, stems from the conflicts between the board and the professional staff. The board is unwilling to validate the staff's claim that it takes professional expertise to run a museum. There is a hardy skepticism among board members about the skills and esoteric knowledge necessary for such an operation. At the same time, the board members are made to feel uneasy in their knowledge of art and their degree of aesthetic sensitivity - an uneasiness which rubs off in a rather cavalier treatment of art and the museum. The musuem professional staff does treat the board members asoutsiders - making obvious exceptions for those few who, they feel, represent their professional interests and attitudes.

The board refuses to legitimate the professional point of view by continuing to reject "Professional" persons for the board, by continuing to select members of their own social group.

The musuem, then, is a complex organization with several pertinent characteristics: it is a professional organization with a division of labor differentiating departments by function; it is a professional organization but with the inclusion in its core, intramural organization of several non-professional departments, usually not equal in autonomy to the professional departments; like most commonweal organizations it is formally under the authority of a lay board. The division of labor extends to both the complementary and core parts of the organization. And that which differentiates the intramural from the complementary both in function and in attitude is the professionalization of the musuem. Finally the problem of funds pressures the entire organizational complex of the museum - constantly. Together with the process of professionalization, fund-raising has had more consequences for structuring the museum than any other factor, including the earlier elite organization of the museum.

As a formal organization the museum has a closed structure based upon the necessity of certain skills not held in common by all community members and because the staff members have used professionalization to separate themselves from the broader public. It is also a closed structure because part of the authority is vested in a segment of the organization that is closed, self-perpetuating, and self-electing. Recruitment into either of these two levels is regulated by specific criteria. Despite the community orientation of the professional ethos, the museum organization is an effective instrument for keeping the public at arm's length. Such an organizational structure guarantees the social isolation of the elite - whether social or professional. The influence of the social elite is curtailed by the hostility of the professional staff to what it considers the pretensions of the complementary organization. The hegemony of the professionals over the organization is limited by the essentail condition of its dependence on public funds - funds which come in large measure from the wealthiest and most socially powerful segments of the community. While conflicts are rife, the balance between such opposing forces is probably salutary for the organization.

Compared to the elite-mass model of the critics of contemporary culture, the organization of the museum is extremely complex. Considering the organization from the point of the elites or from the masses is inadequate for understanding the complex way the various elements relate. Elites - leaders within the organization - are composed of members of the professional staff, members of the business, cultural and social elites who are also members of the board, and individuals who are leaders within the museum organization but who are non-leaders within other social areas. There is no consensus among the individuals in this elite group; in fact, there are strong and important cleavages among them concerning most of the issues vital to the organization and values of the museum.

The mass, whether considered the public-at-large, the membership of the museum, or the public interested in fine arts, is not a term which has use or validity for describing or analyzing that something-other-than-elites within the organization. Different audiences are related to the museum by different values, different definitions of the roles and purposes of the museums, different interests in its affairs. And there is no evidence in the history of the organization that either elites or masses has been a single, dominant, sole power in structuring the values of the organization. Such groups have struck different balances at different times - balances which have had repercussions for the structure. At any one time museums may differ in the relative strength of one faction - the professionals, the elites, the public - over another for setting policies and structuring the organization; but no period has ever been completely dominated by any one set of conditions, values or organizational form.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SPECIFIC MUSEUM
ITS SETTING AND HISTORY

Although Rochester[1] was established late (about 1812) compared to other cities of comparable size in the Northeastern sector of the United States, it has compensated for its late arrival by being a city and a metropolitan area of continued growth - in wealth population, industry and education. Currently the SMSA has a population of between 700,000 and 1,000,000, with growth - in an area which otherwise has seen a population decrease - still outstripping the Census Bureau estimates. It is an area of small-scale farming and a metropolitan community based on a highly skilled and family-owned industrial complex. One of the most outstanding characteristics of the area is the degree to which this family-based industry recruits leadership from within its own families and holds its wealth within its own area. The young scions are sent out to "prep" schools and Ivy League colleges only to return to the family industry to share in its direction. The consequence is a social and economic stability of the upper class over time rarely found in American cities. Such stability is, however, limited by the increasing numbers of high-status professional positions created by the development of skilled industries and by the growth of college-level educational institutions within the area. Businesses themselves range from nationally famous milling and clothing firms to precision-instrument and electronic industries. From time to time, a few of these businesses have so lavished their wealth on the educational and fine-arts organizations that, according to most of the museum administrators or directors, it has crippled the willingness or desire to donate funds on the part of the generally but less spectacularly wealthy in the city.

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[1] For a general history of the period covered in this statement see: Blake McKelvey, Rochester: The Quest for Quality, 1890-1925(Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1956), and, Rochester, An Emerging Metropolis, 1925-1961(Rochester, New York: Christopher Press, Inc.1961

That the city is wealthy can be seen by comparing national with SMSA statistics for income. The national median for family incomes in 1960 was $5,625, while that for the SMSA was $7,147.[1] Correspondingly, the occupational distribution for men is skewed to the higher-status occupations:

TABLE 1 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION - NATION AND SMSA, 1961 *

Occupations	National %**	SMSA %***
Professional and semi-professional	12%	17%
Proprietors, managers, officials	11	12
Lesser-status white-collar	22	19
Craftsmen, foremen operatives	30	51

* All percentages rounded.

** U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1961(82nd ed.) (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961). Derived from Table No. 287, p. 215

*** U.S. Bureau of the Census, Rochester, New York: Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961). Derived from Table P-3, p. 47.

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[1] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Rochester, New York: Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961). Derived from Table P-1,P.15

At the same time educational achievement is higher for the area for persons 25 years of age or older than it is for the nation as a whole: median school years completed for the SMSA is 11.2, while for the nation it is 10.5.

The city itself has a broad spectrum of ethnic groups ranging over German, Baltic, Scandinavian, Polish and Russian to Balkan, Greek, Italian, with sizable Negro and Jewish populations. Many of the ethnic groups have preserved something of their social identities with organizations devoted to folk arts and crafts and strong religious ties. The Museum has often been able to call on such arts and crafts groups for both entertainment and display. Except for the involvement of the Italians into the political structure of the city, most of the ethnic or racial minorities are under-represented in the dominant institutions of the area. The social, economic and cultural institutions of the city are predominantly white and Protestant, except for Jewish representation among the professionals and in some industries. The various ethnic groups do, however, impart a cosmopolitan flavor to the city with their churches, restaurants, clubs and festivals lighting up an otherwise stolid upper-middle-class social canvas.

The cosmopolitan aspect of Rochester is further highlighted by a plethora of organizations devoted to education and the fine arts and crafts; numerous galleries, of which a handful are outstanding; a host of four-year colleges and graduate training institutions - some private, some public - including a ranking private university with medical school, a ranking arts and crafts school attached to an institute of technology, a famous school of music; three rather outstanding museums (one of which, at least, has attained international note); a performing and recording choral society and symphony orchestra; resident ballet and theater groups; as well as active organizations for the display and preservation of historic buildings and landmarks. Such organizations are served by a state-supported arts council and an inter-museum coucil - both composed of professionals from the various organizations, a civic music association and the various organization boards formed, for the most part, from the wealthy upper- and upper-middle-class population. In addition, two city newspapers - although owned by the same company - and several healthily independent suburban presses serve the area.

This, then, is the setting in which the Museum[1] investigated in this study is to be found. Originally the Museum was established as a memorial gift by one of the outstanding art patrons in the area. In 1912 the building was dedicated and the Museum first opened its doors to the public - a public rather limited both by the character of the City's social life and by the intention of its benefactor. While endowing the Museum so that it would be independent financially, the patron took the precaution of making the University the trustee of the Museum in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the "politicians" of the City administration.[1] The original agreement between the donor and the Museum was as follows:

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[1] For the sake of brevity the full name of the Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester will be abbreviated to "the Museum." In all cases when the word "Museum" appears, capitalized, the reference is to this specific museum.

> Whereas the party of the second part has offered to present to the party of the first part an art gallery to be constructed on the University Campus...
> Said art gallery shall be a department of the University... and shall be maintained as such for the benefit of the University and of the citizens of the city of Rochester.[2]

During the incumbency of the first Director, the University, the area artists, and the upper class were salient in setting the tone of the Museum, defining its role, and setting the limitations on its services. After this period, the Museum generated from within, to a great extent, its own role definition and the delineation of its services.

During this early period the Museum was closely associated with the University--both physically, since it was located on the campus, and socially, because the University was more closely integrated into the social life of the upper-class community than at present. In 1927, the male students were removed to a new campus at some distance from the older campus, while the female students remained on the old campus.

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[1] Many of those interviewed for this study - both within the Museum and in similar organizations - suggested that one of the reasons for making the University the trustee was to limit the accessibility of the Museum, making it, thereby, an essentially upper-class organization. Blake McKelvey, in recounting the founding of the Museum, does not even mention the fact that the University was appointed the trustee. (Rochester; The Quest for Quality, 1890-1925,p.211f.) This latter omission corroborates my own feeling that the Museum exists today quite independently of the University both in its policies and in the public eye.

[2] From a copy of the agreement between the donor and the University, June 26, 1912, p. 1. Typed manuscript from the Museum files.

At this time the Art Department of the University and the Museum were still housed on the old campus, but the Art Department was unhappy about its primary association with the women's campus rather than with an all-university or men's campus. By 1955 the University relocated both the female students and the Art Department on the new campus, thus breaking the pattern of close affiliation with the Museum.

The association of the Museum with the University had its impact on the organization of the Museum and on its public and professional viewpoints. For the University, the Museum was regarded essentially as a teaching-museum, a place in which to train would-be professionals in the museum field. The contiguity of the Art Department and the Museum thus helped to make a "closed" organization with a captive audience of students. The Museum was free to the public - no admissions were charged - only on weekends. During the week it was open to the membership of the Museum and to students free of charge; others had to pay an admission fee. Admission fees were dropped by the second Director.

The collection policy was influenced by the relationship with the University. Instead of specializing in period or place, the collection, being regarded as a teaching instrument, was as a matter of policy conceived of as broadly as possible - covering all periods from ancient and primitive to modern. At times this put severe strains on the budget, as when this relatively poor Museum would find itself competing with the Metropolitan Museum for a collection piece. This policy led to a

> ...permanent collection [that] is the best balanced of any art museum in the State outside metropolitan New York City. It

> covers virtually all main cultures and periods of world art, generally in examples of good to superior quality. It is strong in medieval art - notably lacking in other museums discussed in this book. Its chief weakness is that it has so few sculptures of monumental size...[1]

There was also a tendency, in this early period, for the staff to be relatively undiscriminating in the acceptance of gift objects on the ground that for a teaching museum, "good" and "bad" were equally useful pedagogical instruments.

The members of the professional staff of the Museum believe that their predecessors gained in prestige by their close association with the Art Department. Art Department members were part of the Museum staff, acting as curators and lecturers, helping to organize exhibitions. And members of the Museum staff held positions in the Art Department, taught classes in museology,[2] met with the students and with the Art Department faculty over coffee or lunch. The old-time staff members recalled with nostalgia the pleasant and constant exchange of ideas and discussions that were made possible by such continuous contact among Museum staff, art historians and art teachers. With the removal of the Art Department, not only was such contact lost, but much of the Museum's valuable library also was forfeited to the new campus, only to be replaced at considerable cost - a factor in creating a certain reservation on the part of the Museum staff with regard to the intentions of the Art Department.

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[1] S. Lane Faison, Jr., Art Tours and Detours in New York State, (New York: Random House, Inc., 1964), p.53.

[2] The term within the professional museum field for this type of class - a neologism - is museology. Such classes cover problems in the setting up of exhibitions, the care and cataloguing of collections, planning educational programs, and policy-setting. At this time the University of Rochester was one of the few universities offering such training.

The removal was also a factor in changing the Museum's ethic to one of "public service", for concomitant with the removal of the Art Department from the Museum was the collapse of classes in "museology", of cooperation between the Museum and the University in creating exhibitions for the students, and of Museum staff participation in Art Department classes. The second Director, in fact, tended to play down the association with the University and to play up the Museum's community role. Not until the arrival of the third Director in 1962 did the relationship with the University become again an important future point of reference as well as present point of organization.

Even before the men's campus was removed, the second Director pushed the Museum into a more openly "community-oriented" role. In part owing to the pressures of the Depression period, but also in part owing to the vigorous expression of community ethos by the national professional association, the second Director inaugurated a series of organizational changes that altered the structure and the public stance of the Museum. A membership campaign was launched in 1926. During the first twenty-five years of its existence the Museum had limped along with a small membership (average number - 150), no publicity concerning the availabilty of memberships to the public, and small concern about the community services it could render. With the new Director, community service became the law; and the Depression, drying up the sources of funds, made the general public support of the Museum both inevitable and mandatory if it were to survive. From that day to this the Museum has effectively waged a membership campaign each fall and now stands as one of the foremost museums in the country in its public support, enrolling approximately one per cent of the population of the SMSA in its membership ranks. A separate membership department with a full-time administrator was established in 1929. And in 1928 the second Director introduced monthly "Museum Notes" to keep the ever-growing membership abreast of programs, exhibitions and additions to the collections.

Such changes had significant repercussions for the organizational form and the ethos of the Museum. Over time these changes meant the delineation of specific departments and their appropriate functions and increased separation of professional from non-professional functions and services within the Museum, culminating in the establishment of both membership and public-relations departments as non-professional departments within a professional setting.

With the original Director the specialization and division of labor among the staff members was held to a minimum by the lack of delineation into departments with specific functions. Staff size was small enough to allow greater participation in most of the Museum's work by all staff members; even the Director's role reflected this in that the distinction which becomes so important - the distinction between administrative and professional duties - was relatively undeveloped at this time. The professionalization of the Museum and its staff was inhibited during this period also by the extensive use of volunteers from the generally upper-class membership. Such persons contributed their voluntary services in cataloguing collections, helping to install exhibitions, writing exhibition folios, organizing small-scale exhibitions for outlying areas. These factors, while increasing the contact between professionals and lay membership, opposed the professionalization of the Museum and its staff. It was not until later, when the number of staff members and services had increased and when the influence of the University and the upper-class membership was less tangible, that various departments (curatorial, exhibition, education, membership) with jurisdiction over specific tasks were formally defined and established. Finally, with the addition of a public relations department, the lay parts of the organization were distinguished from the professional. The division of labor among staff members was made distinct on the grounds of operational criteria, and lay participation in what were seen as professional matters was curbed. Lay participation was limited over time to participation in the membership campaign, where contact with staff members was confined to the non-professional membership department, or in the docents program, where the lay members were given serious training by the professional staff.

During the time of the first Director, the Museum had a more limited view of the audience as much by default as by intention. The role of the Museum was to provide education and services for the University - this was a matter of stated policy. By default the only other parts of the public that were courted were the membership - a limited upper-class membership at this time, self-selected since no campaign was launched to induce larger numbers to join - and artists, the latter because the first Director was an artist. In both cases recruitment from these groups was an accident of the original membership and the composition of Museum support.

The first Director, a practising artist, was widely acquainted with artists in the Northeast, and a long-time missionary for the cause of art and artists. The city was small enough that artists, at least upper-middle-class artists, and the social elite were mutually acquainted. The artists in the area were organized in an art club, established in 1877, which restricted membership to selection by the members and by professional status as artists. This club and its president, later to be the first Director of the Museum, presented in 1908 one of the few early shows in the United Stated of works later to be presented in the Armory show of New York city, 1913.[1] After the founding of the Museum, a yearly exhibition of work of the Art Club was hung in the Museum; this later led to disputes with other art groups in the city. Over time the original art club was deemed too conventional; and several other more experimental groups were formed, each in turn demanding museum exhibition space.

The consequence of such factors was an unintentionally limiting policy on the part of the Museum. The public at this time was considered to be those interested in art; those interested in art would discover the Museum and become its members. Outside of this purview the only audience which was courted was the audience of school children, who were more or less captive and at the mercy of their teachers' decision to cooperate with the Museum. Neither in the original membership brochure nor in the earliest annual reports is any mention made of general community-oriented services or roles for the Museum.

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[1] Blake McKelvey, "The First Century of Art in Rochester...to 1925," Rochester History, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (April, 1955), p. 15

From the time of the second Director (1922) to the present, however, community orientation becomes the keynote of the role and services of the Museum. During this later period the Museum becomes increasingly aware of itself as a professional organization, the program expands and becomes more diversified and more differentiated audiences are served. Fewer lay and non-professional persons hold positions; staff members hired during this period have more professional training than the incumbent staff members; the demands made on the professional expertise of staff members increases as departmental autonomy grows; departmental autonomy increases with the growth of the professional staff and the increasing complexity of specialization.

For most staff members the former close association between the staff and the upper-class membership was an uncomfortable arrangement. Such a sharing of what were considered professional duties with the lay personnel affronted their professional sensibilities. A community-oriented ethos had the advantage of severing the ties to a specific audience in favor of highly differentiated audiences with less encompassing and involving attachments to the Museum. At the same time such an ethos allowed the proliferation and expansion of professional services, thus doubly satisfying the Museum staff. As a consequence more instrumental yet professional services were rendered to increasingly larger yet differentiated audiences. The cooperation between the Museum and the School Board was made formal. Buses were provided to transport school children from the schools to the Museum and a contribution by the School Board to the Museum budget was established. When the students could not be brought to the Museum, services were established which took the Museum to the students. Lectures, traveling exhibitions, slides, prints and an art-mobile[1] were all made available to the schools. Specific groups within the area are now encouraged to avail themselves of tailor-made programs with or without membership in the Museum - for the aged, the blind and the bed-ridden in hospitals or at home there are special classes and loans of original art or prints; for students at the University there is also a rent-a-print service, usually sold out the day it is offered. Artists in the area are encouraged by the Museum's outdoor art fair, where display and potential sales are offered; the art-lending and sales department selects the works of many local artists and craftsmen for display, rental and sales; an area show offers the artists juried selection of their works and a possible first prize of a one-man show within the Museum; the work of folk art groups is occasionall displayed. Members from outlying areas are courted by the offer of lectures, demonstrations, and traveling exhibitions for their areas.

Special exhibitions are organized in order to encourage participation in the Museum on the part of people who otherwise would not be included in the Museum audience. For instance, an exhibition of the history of the shoe and clothing manufacturers in the city was organized with the intent of bringing the working people of these industries into the Museum; the exhibition succeeded in doing this although there is no evidence that visiting the Museum became habitual for these working-class people. In order to attract the members of the various ethnic groups in the area, shows are arranged of folk and ethnic art. Exhibitions which portray the history of the area's architectural forms, "kleine Kunste," taste, or the contemporary problems of conservation, preservation and city beautification are arranged for both the general and specific audience interests. The collections of the art patrons in the city and area are exhibited, satisfying both general interests in art and the natural curiosity of specific audiences. Programs of music in cooperation with the school of music, and films about art or "art films" are also presented to encourage greater participation. And, finally, groups having no real connection with the Museum are allowed the use of the Museum lecture hall or meeting rooms - thus the choral society for years practised in the Museum auditorium; a Jewish women's group meets regularly in the meeting rooms; the historical society, the local branch of the architectural society, the Civic Music Association and numerous others routinely make use of the Museum's facilities in this manner.

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[1] A bus outfitted as a museum. Museums offering this service have copied fellow organizations - the public libraries and their bookmobiles

At times the community orientation of the Museum was overzealous, including as proper Museum activities many which were not weeded out largely because the staff was so overworked that it had not the time to sit and discuss "whither-are-we-going?" until the advent of the third Director. The increasing of the membership, and the augmenting of services to the community all conspired, especially during World War II, to spread and scatter the activities of the Museum. In addition, the constant financial pressure - linked in many ways to the increasing of membership and services - also led to the addition of activities which were considered by most of the staff as affronts to the professional nature of museum activities and role. "Too much 'circus'" was the complaint of most staff members before the weeding-out process was begun. Then fashion shows in the medieval court as money-raising devices, exhibitions in which the intrinsic artistic merit was secondary to popular appeal, the use of the Museum facilities by social groups rather than by civic or art-related groups - all such activities were abolished, at times with some hard feelings.

If community orientation pushes the Museum unwittingly in a direction which has to be corrected, that which insists on the correction is the sense of professional obligation to maintain a high level of performance shared by all the professional staff and upheld even by the non-professional staff. Over time both the increasing professionalization of the Museum and its staff and the community ethos have been salient in hammering out the organizational form and the working values of the Museum. Add to these the constant pressure of the financial problem and one has the triadic base from which organizational form, values and problems arise. The Museum has undergone a continual and increasing professionalization which is evident over time in a survey of the qualifications of persons holding professional positions within the Museum, the quality of the programs and services offered by the Museum, and the norms, values and standards held by professional staff personnel. At the inception of the Museum no member of the staff was a professional. The background of the Director was in the practising arts; at that time staff members did not have training in the field of museology; many volunteers from the predominantly upper-class membership were utilized for what would later be designated professional tasks.

At present all professional staff positions except one are occupied by persons with professional training, and the one non-professional has received on-the-job training in addition to being sent out for instruction by trained professionals. In addition, the number of professional positions has increased many times over since the establishment of the Museum. These positions represent an increase in the behind-the-scenes, invisible professional positions as well as in the more visible professional positions. The second and third Directors and Assistant Directors (whose positions were added during the second Director's tenure) have all had training in museology and museum education. Non-professional volunteers are used infrequently, and in all cases these persons are subordinate and directly responsible to professionals. Non-professional positions within the Museum are confined to the Membership, public relations and maintenance departments and to reception, secretarial and bookkeeping positions in the main office. For the past fifteen years professional positions such as Director and Assistant Director have been open to candidates from the entire country and have been advertised in the professional journals; members of the Museum have traveled to major urban areas to interview candidates; and universities and major museums have been contacted for the namesof possible candidates when such positions have been open or established.

Furthermore, professional positions within the Museum have become more and more specialized, and the division of labor has been clarified and determined both within departments and throughout the organization as a whole. Non-professional functions such as public relations and membership have been isolated in the formal organization, and such functions have been removed from the roles of the professionals - so much so that there is general resentment on the part of the professional staff when attempts are made to press them into service for the membership campaign, which is the most hectic event of the year. Such was not the case in the incipience of the organization, when everybody did everything and nobody was a professional.

The Museum has a policy of presenting an average of three temporary exhibitions each month of a ten-month period - one major and two minor. Major exhibitions have generally been, throughout the Museum's existence, of consistent high quality. Minor exhibitions have tended to be more popular, often directed at very spedific audiences, more frequently including the work of local artists or objects of local interest, more often exhibiting the "kleine Kunste" and the crafts. A crude measure[1] of the quality of the art works presented in the major exhibitions (which under-estimates the over-all quality of the Museum's offerings because it neglects the minor shows of major artists, periods or areas) indicates that well over 50 per cent of the major shows included works of artists, periods or areas of artistic note, except during the tenure of the first Director:

TABLE II QUALITY OF EXHIBITIONS FROM 1913 TO THE PRESENT

Period	Per cent of Major Exhibitions with Outstanding Art
1913-1921	47% (Tenure of first Director)
1922-1929	61%
1930-1939	55% (Exhibition Budget cut - Depression)
1940-1949	57% (Exhibition Budget cut - WW II)
1950-1959	61% (Exhibition Budget cut - Recession)
1960-1966	68%

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[1] This measure was arrived at by calculating the proportion of the ten major exhibitions of each year which displayed the works of well-known artists enough to be listed in : Dorothy B. Gilbert, Who's Who in American Art (New York: R.R. Bowker and Co., 1966) (The American Federation of Arts) or James F. Carr, compiler, Mantle Fielding's Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers (New York: James F. Carr, Publisher, 1965).

When no artist but an area and/or a period (for example, Despite cuts in the exhibition budget during the Depression, World War II and the post-war recession of the early fifties, the proportion of the major shows which exhibit major art increases. During the periods of budget-cutting the exhibitions suffered since exhibition expenses constitute the largest single budget item with the exception of staff salaries. Exhibitions of local artists and of the work done on the Museum-supported W.P.A. project during the Depression, loans from local patrons, and small-scale exhibitions which could be put together on a minimal budget eked out the small resources available to the Museum.[1]

In addition to such budget-limited exhibitions, both the first and the second Directors took up the cudgels for and sponsored American artists throughout the period when to be American was considered the kiss of death by the cognoscenti. Many American artists shown by the Museum during the Twenties and the Thirties have since been accorded national and international recognition. During this earlier period of the Museum, such artists had to be discovered - and such exhibitions had to be arranged and selected - by the Director. There were no pre-

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French decorative art of the 18th century, or Nigerian tribal art) was listed, the sources either of the whole exhibition or of pieces of it were considered (for example, the Philadelphia Museum, the Museum of Modern Art).

Both the published monthly calendar of events and the annual reports of the Museum listed the exhibitions, major and minor, and the tabulations were done from these.

[1] Examples, taken from the historical record of the Museum: English hunting prints of the 19th Century; an exhibition of the work done in Museum art classes; an exhibition of prints from the collection of Mrs....; memorial exhibition of (a local political cartoonist); Guatemalan textiles collected by (a local collector); exhibition of prints from the Museum collection; Early American household objects from the Museum collection.

arranged, packaged exhibitions as are now generally available - usually set up by one of the larger museums or artists' associations. Even today, the Museum discussed here is exceptional in the number of exhibitions which the staff organizes, researches and assembles on its own, including several outstanding shows which have been "packaged" and sent on to other organizations. Both the first and the second Directors were au courant with the major movements of art in Europe during the Twenties and Thirties and arranged for exhibitions in the Museum when such art was generally neglected in the United States despite the impact of the Armory Show of 1913.

From the mid-Fifties to the present, the budget for exhibitions, while still not considered adequate by the professional staff, has been proportionately larger, allowing greater freedom in selection. A sharp rise in the cost of exhibitions, the largest piece of which goes to cover the insuring of the objects, still makes the discussion of expenditures for exhibitions one of the most important considerations of the annual budget review.

With the shift away from the early upper-class dominance of the Museum to a broader service and community orientation, the standards of judging the Museum's performance underwent a change. During the earlier period the problem of judging the quality of performance was secondary to whether or not the specific audience was satisfied. Slowly this criterion of performance was replaced by criteria that focused on the quality of the art and the education that were presented, with the question of whether or not the audience was satisfied remaining

a thorny problem since all audiences cannot be satisfied all of the time. The non-professional departments (membership and public relations) cooperate in the maintenance of these professional standards. Consequently, staff research on collections and exhibitions is published in the monthly calendar of events while the purely social notes are played down; the membership department was willing to eliminate much of the circus atmosphere that clung to the membership campaign; and the Women's Guild gave up its overwhelmingly social tone and cooperated in projects suggested by the Museum staff. For the purposes of fund-raising, fashion shows were replaced by food booths at the outdoor art fair; the practical arrangements for art tours were made by the Women's Guild; and in place of the frothy "April in Paris" extravaganzas, white-tie affairs were limited to champagne openings for special exhibitions - these latter being more and more attended not only by the "social set" but also by younger persons from more diverse backgrounds.

With the third Director, the association with the University is again revived and given prominence - classes in Museology are established again; exhibitions from the Museum's collections are set up for the students on the University campus; plans are being made for a joint publication for the Art Department and the Museum. Only 24 per cent of the total budget comes from the University despite the fact that the University claims the Museum as an important adjunct in the enumeration of its resources. In contrast, the public donates 50 per cent of the annual budget through memberships of varying amounts and through general contributions. Consequently, there is considerable pressure to review the relationship with the University and to press for greater support from the University on the basis of the services rendered to it by the Museum.

There are other more subtle indicators of a shift in emphasis away from the social-status role of the Museum, with its insistence on the ornamental, and to the more rigorous demand for high quality in the art that is presented. Much money was lavished during the first twenty-five years on the printed invitations, monthly calendar of events, and annual reports, in order that they be elegant. Much labor was "wasted" on hand-written envelopes and inscriptions. Later, such money was considered better spent on the exhibitions, with labor-saving devices being used to address mailings and less expensive printing forms being utilized in annual reports and the monthly calendar of events. "There are fewer potted plants around" was how one respondent summarized the change in the general atmosphere of the Museum over time. Money from the Museum budget is no longer spent on the floral decoration of the Museum. Instead, this service has been transferred to the Women's Guild as part of their volunteer service to the Museum. And as a consequence there are fewer potted plants. (Even those which have survived demand an inordinate amount of maintenance-staff time in that they must be dusted - leaf by leaf - and brushed with milk to make them shiny and respectable.)

The problem of financing such an organization did in the past and still does persist as a major dilemma for the Museum, posing problems of the extent of services, the ethos of the Museum, and the direction for the future. There is a tendency to increase the scatter of services with an already over-burdened staff in order to procure some of the available public funds - without regard for whether the service incorporated is compatible with the direction of the Museum. After long financial starvation, most organizations tend to grab at monies whenever the purse-strings are opened. Since such funds are public, and since the government makes a quid-pro-quo gift, specific services are usually requested for the dole. However, the character of the services is determined by the governmental agency - often the prey to the latest public fad in, for example, education ("the Russians are winning with Sputnik") or the arts ("every city must have its arts center"). The expansion of museum facilities on the grounds of such ephemera is therefore to be cautioned against.

For years the expansion of facilities, the adequate care of the collection, the increase of professional staff is postponed for lack of funds. Consequently collections, worth millions, fall into disrepair; the constant pressures of work fret the staff because quality corners must be cut; inadequate room for exhibitions and inadequate staff for maintenance give the whole Museum a shabby look. To solve the financial problem will not be to erase all problems from the Museum's horizon. The latent problems - the definition of the Museum's role and its services, the pull between the community service orientation of the organization and the professional values and norms of the staff, the position and the role of the complementary organization - will become manifest.

At its inception the Museum was more elite-ridden than in its later periods. With a change to a public orientation, (this might be read as a concern for the masses), and with the consequent loss by the elites of a never-great-power, a change in the quality of presentation can also be traced. Instead of inhibiting the quality of the presentation, greater dominance of the organization by professionals, given a public orientation, has enhanced the quality of exhibitions and presentations. Reviewing the history of the organization suggests that there was a greater circus ambiance when the elite was a more powerful force than when the professionals have more power and when consideration for the public (read masses) is greater. At the same time, the public has no greater access to the organization than before; the elites, as Board and Guild members, are just as committed to the success of the organization even if they have less control over the kind of contribution they make; and the greater dominance of the professionals has by no means converted the organization into a dry-as-dust, academician's dream. The organization does have greater public support, greater public participation in its programs than before, but not at the expense of quality. The organization grantsless power to the elites of the city but without loss of quality. Such indications suggest that mass-culture theory is incorrect in its assessment of the necessity of elite control and dominance, inadequate to differentiate between elite and professional control and the consequences of ech, and exaggerates the potential for control of the public.

CHAPTER FOUR THE FORMAL ORGANIZATION

The formal organization of the Museum is complex and many-leveled. There are levels of professional and lay participation, of intramural and extramural services, functions and memberships, of administrative and professional departments, of policy-making and operational control and authority. And in this discussion it must be kept in mind that...

> Organization is seen not as a chiseled entity, but as a shifting set of contained and ongoing counter phases of action.[1]

There are two main axes of these shifting sets of patterns: the distinctions between the professional and the lay aspects of the organization and between what are called here the core and the complementary organizations.

The organization is primarily a professional organization.

> Professional organizations are organizations in which members of one or more professional groups play the central role in the achievement of the primary organizational objectives.[2]

The Director and most of the staff are selected for their professional qualifications. The Director and the intramural staff of the Museum constitute the core organization. The goals of the organization, the technical tasks of the organization could not be implemented or carried out were it not for this part of the structure.

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[1] Melville Dalton, Men Who Manage (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1959) p. 4.

[2] W. Richard Scott, "Reactions to Supervision in a Heteronomous Professional Organization," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 10, No. 1 (June, 1965), p. 65. See the following chapter for a discussion of the legitimacy of this claim to professionalism on the part of museum workers.

The core organization of the Museum is composed of both professional and lay departments and staff members. The professional departments are three in number - exhibitions, curatorial and collections, and education. Assistant directors are in charge of both the education and exhibitions departments. The curatorial and collections department is less independent, with a registrar as its chief staff member. This department is scheduled, in time, for complete separation from the exhibitions department, under which it has been subsumed owing to lack of funds and personnel - a separation necessitated by the size and complexity of the growing collections.

The exhibition department concerns itself with exhibitions organized every month or six weeks by the Museum staff. Some of these exhibitions are temporary and put together from the Museum's own stored collections; others are leased in toto from one of the numerous sources now available - the major museums, corporations, artist federations; still others are organized by the Museum, borrowing objects from other museums to whom it must return the compliment with loans from its own collections. Other exhibitions are permanent displays of the Museum's own collections, changed only infrequently. All need careful research, labeling, the organization of more or less complex exhibition catalogs, and painstaking mounting. At any one time the visitor will find five or six relatively permanent exhibitions from the Museum's collections - primitive, Oriental, medieval, great masters, early American, Graeco-Roman, and usually four temporary exhibitions - at least one of which is a major exhibition. These may vary from a several-gallery exhibition of a major retrospective show to a single-gallery showing of a few masterpieces.

The education department includes the staff of the creative workshop classes - classes in arts and crafts which run throughout the year - and the staff responsible for organizing the public-schools programs, the many lecture series presented to different Museum audiences, and the exhibitions tours. The sheer coordination of the efforts of this staff in its multifarious responsibilities is a burden, to say nothing of the fact that there are numerous other demands on the skills and time of this department.

The non-professional departments include the general office staff responsible for payroll and accounting, the membership department, maintenance, and public relations. The membership department is concerned with the organization of the yearly membership campaign and the collection of dues and contributions to the museum - a prime concern for an organization dependent on public contributions. The department is under the direction of a membership secretary and has a small, permanent clerical staff. Together these staff members are responsible for the control and organization of the scores of volunteers who are enlisted yearly for the membership drives.

The maintenance department, under the direction of a superintendent, is responsible for maintaining the buildings and grounds, security, the manual labor involved in installations and exhibitions, and general handyman activities. Again, a genius for coordination is necessary for the timely completion of all this department's tasks.

The responsibilities of the public relations department are the organization, lay-out and writing of all printed Museum materials - exhibition catalogs, program notes, Museum handbook, monthly newsletters, membership brochures; the organization of news handouts for the local and national press; and the coordination of the scheduling of all Museum activities and the public notices thereof.

While the professional departments all enjoy a large measure of autonomy and independence and share personnel and exchange ideas and services among themselves, the non-professional departments are directly responsible to the Director and in part to the professional departments. There is little or no exchange of personnel and services between the non-professional and the professional departments except during the membership campaign, when all hands turn out to ensure its success. At this time of year - the month of October - the distinctions between professional and non-professional departments and between staff and volunteers are relaxed. All departments are expected to cooperate in the membership campaign; all departments are expected to subordinate their programs to the needs and exigencies of the campaign; professional and lay staff join with volunteers in the activities of this seasonal assault on the public.

These departments, then, constitute the core organization of the Museum. The core organization is characterised by the distinction between professional and lay departments with typical differences in degree of autonomy, authority and independence between these two sections. While the distinctions in autonomy and in degree of responsibility to the Director are formally stated, the pressures of time and the understaffing of all departments owing to lack of funds make the heteronomy of the non-professional departments more formal than real. All departments are responsible for the coordination of efforts and programs with one another; all departments confer with one another and the Director - formally and informally - concerning problems of scheduling and organization. Even the non-professional department pursues its internal responsibilities with a measure of autonomy. On the whole, the entire core organization enjoys a greater degree of departmental autonomy than many other professional organizations. In this regard the Museum is more similar, for instance, to a university than to a hospital.

The formal authority of the Museum is, however, invested in the Board of Directors - a board of forty-two members elected for three-year terms, although each may be re-elected more or less as the Board sees fit. The Board meets several times a year, with a prescribed annual meeting, and is responsible for selecting and evaluating the performance of the Director and for setting the formal policies and goals of the Museum. The Board is also granted the authority to establish a Women's Guild for the Museum, and the president of the Guild is ex officio a member of the Board. Together, the Board and the Guild constitute the complementary organization of the Museum - that which is added to the core organization; its functions are supplementary to those of the core organization. The complementary organization is a non-professional part of the total organization - the lay part of the organization in which rests the formal authority to govern the Museum.

Together the core and the complementary organizations constitute the ongoing intramural structure of the Museum. Most of the activities necessary to the continuance of the organization and instrumental to its ends are carried out by the core and complementary sections of the organization. Most of these activities are the responsibilities of the core organization. Occasionally the general membership engages in instrumental activities within the museum, as when members join the annual membership campaign or lead tours as part of the docent program. Usually the general membership accepts the gifts of the organization - its lectures, exhibitions, openings, previews, films, as a part of the public audience. The membership, then, although part of the formal structure of the Museum, is more a part of the extramural than of the intramural organization. Together with the many publics of the Museum it shares a sometimes more and sometimes less clearly defined status vis-à-vis the Museum.

The extramural ties of the Museum may be either formal or informal. Formal ties link the Museum with the public school systems of the area, with the art teachers of the area, with several art clubs of the area, and with special groups to whom the Museum offers tailored services - the blind, the bed-ridden, the students of its own art classes and of the various colleges and universities in the area. Informal ties link the Museum with individuals interested in the fine arts, with special audiences for various art forms, with students. Extramural ties are also discernible in the professional links with other organizations devoted to the fine arts. Various professional services are linked to the Museum throughout the area - the Arts Council of the State of New York, the Inter-Museum Council of Rochester. There are extramural ties to the national professional organization of museums. And finally, by the original charter the Museum is linked, by trusteeship, to the University - a link manifested primarily in the financial aid from the University.

The chart on the following page summarizes the formal organizational plan of the Museum.

THE FORMAL ORGANIZATION OF THE MUSEUM

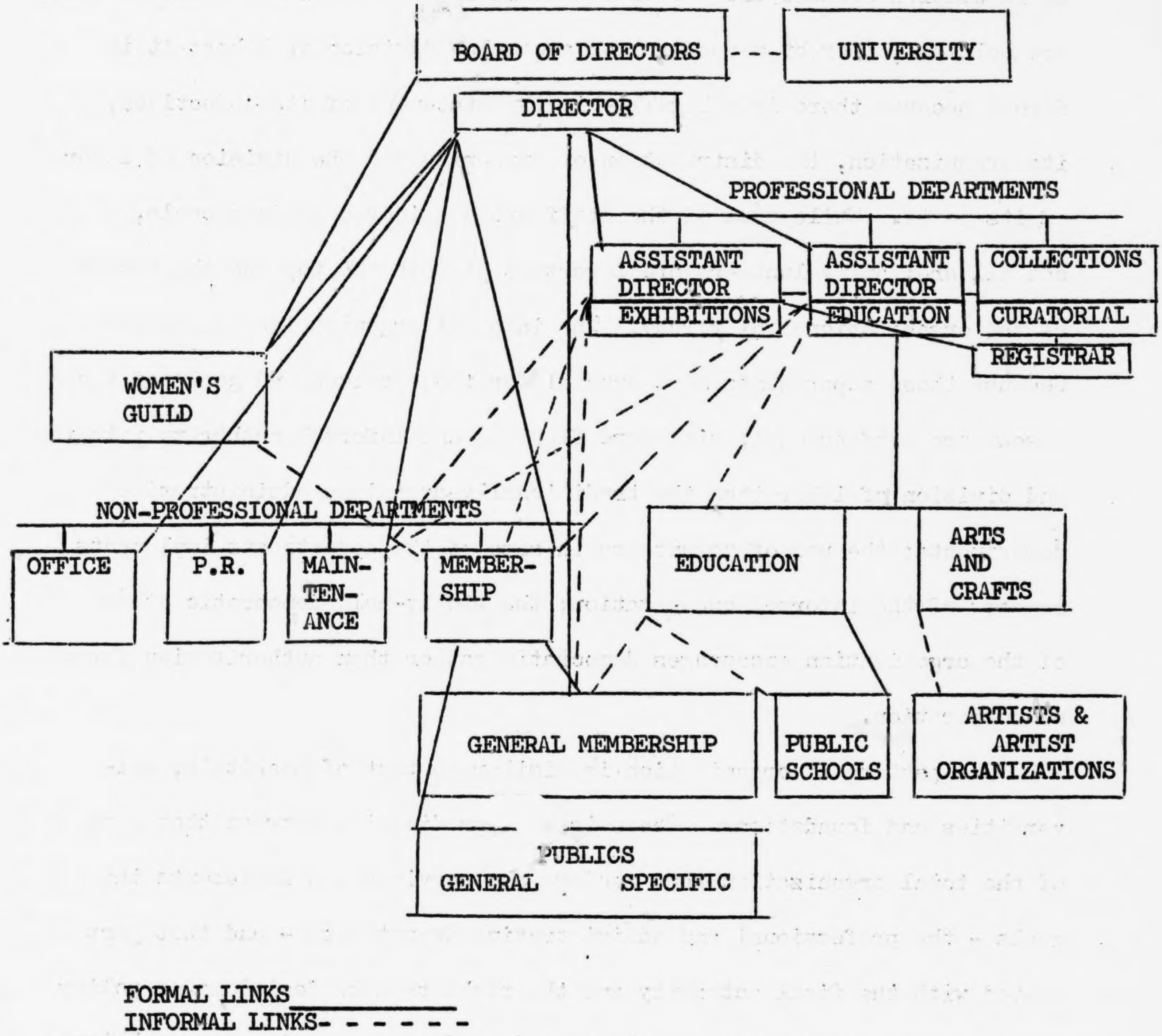
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
UNIVERSITY
DIRECTOR
PROFESSIONAL DEPARTMENTS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR EXHIBITIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR EDUCATION
COLLECTIONS
CURATORIAL
REGISTRAR
WOMEN'S GUILD
NON-PROFESSIONAL DEPARTMENTS
OFFICE
P.R.
MAIN-TEN-ANCE
MEMBER-SHIP
EDUCATION
ARTS AND CRAFTS
GENERAL MEMBERSHIP
PUBLIC SCHOOLS
ARTISTS & ARTIST ORGANIZATIONS
PUBLICS
GENERAL
SPECIFIC
FORMAL LINKS
INFORMAL LINKS- - - - - -

Fig. 1

The structure of the Museum can be characterized at different levels of analysis as formal and complex, as professional and lay, and as informal. It is complex because the services that it renders and its responsibilities are multiple, thereby necessitating a complex division of labor; it is formal because there is a legally-binding statement of its objectives, its organization, the distribution of authority and the division of labor of its parts. While most of the staff are considered professionals, not all are; and volunteers are important at both the top and the bottom of the organizational hierarchy. The informal organization is important because those departments most crucial for the services and goals of the Museum are professional, with more flexible and informal authority patterns and division of labor than the traditionally-organized administrative departments; the use of volunteers in some of the departments implements aspects of the informal organization; the widely-held democratic ethos of the organization encourages democratic rather than authoritarian forms of cooperation.

The pattern of organization is similar to that of hospitals, universities and foundations. There is a major division between that part of the total organization that renders the services and implements the goals - the professional and administrative departments - and that part vested with the final authority and the right to make decisions of policy for the whole organization - a lay board of directors. A primary obligation of the lay board is to select a director responsible to the board and for the administration of the organization. The Museum differs from the above-named organizations in that it also has a membership upon whom it depends primarily for its financial support.

The Museum is similar in organization to a church in that there is an intramural professional organization with ties to a larger professional community on the national level, a lay governing board and a membership whose financial and normative support is necessary for the success and continuance of the organization. The Museum differs from an ecclesiastic organization in that the intramural organization has a more complex professional structure and the membership is more instrumentally attached.

The Museum is similar to such organizations as the Sierra Club and the Audubon Society. There is a large paid membership from which volunteers for the organization's programs are drawn. There is a smaller, permanent salaried staff of professional and administrative officials, and a lay board responsible for policy-making. And further there is a missionary, public-service ethos which helps to define some of the organization's major goals. The Museum differs from such organizations in that most of the services, the responsibilities and duties and many of the purposes of the organization are professional. This limits the areas in which volunteers may be used and the normative and expressive appeals the organization has for its membership.

Insofar as public service is a major objective and the community is seen as a client, the Museum is similar to the public schools. A lay board mediates between the professional organization of the museum and the public in order to insure that public interests are represented in the otherwise professionally-dominated organization. In some instances, museums, like the public schools, are supported by tax monies; in the instance at hand, the Museum is supported almost entirely by public donations. Although the Museum's public stance is one of dedication to the community-at-large, its ties to that community are more tenuous than the ties of the public schools. Members of the community-at-large are not as involved in the Museum as are the parents of children in the public schools, and there is consequently less community control possible and effective over the activities and goals of the Museum.

Precisely how the Museum would be classified, given the various classification systems in contemporary organizational analysis, would depend upon whether it were considered from the viewpoint of the client or the professional, or with regard to the purpose of the organization. In the remainder of this chapter, the Museum will be considered from the point of view of its clients and with regard to its purposes . The structural implications of these two aspects of organization will be considered. In the following chapter, consideration of the Museum as a professional organization will be undertaken.

The original charter of the Museum dedicates its facilities both to the University and to the "citizens of Rochester." In its public stance, the Museum also emphasizes the fact that its exhibitions and programs are presented and its collections are held in trust for a larger audience, a greater public than its own membership. This larger trust is emphasized by many of the "reaching out" activities of the museum - to the public schools, to special audiences such as the blind and the bed-ridden, to minority groups. In this sense, then, the Museum represents a commonweal organization.

> It is not always meaningful to speak of the clients of an organization, since this term refers to both the segment of the public in direct contact with the organization and the segment that benefits from its services... The distinctive characteristic of

> commonweal organizations is that the public-at-large is their prime beneficiary...[1]

The importance of considering the Museum as a commonweal organization lies in the fact that the public-at-large, the community, is used by the professionals of the organization to counter claims, controls and demands by special segments which the professionals desire limited. Community orientation is a prime aspect of the professionals' ethos in that it allows the organization to claim equality of interest in all segments of the public rather than in its membership or the social elite of the city. In turn, the membership and the Board of Directors is also pushed into the position of "being for democracy" rather than against it and so supporting broader claims on the Museum and its activities than those of social class or an elite. Consequently programs for disadvantaged children win out over more festive "galas" for the membership. The community orientation also justifies the Museum's attempts to corner some of the public funds for its own use. A yearly plea for funds for community services rendered is made by the Board of Directors to the city's treasury department; each year the Museum's activities for the public-at-large are paraded for public information and, hopefully, financial benefit. The Museum and the Board, however, are circumspect about the amount of public money that is desired for the Museum - neither is anxious to encourage public surveillance and control even given the easing of the financial problem.

The community orientation has had structural consequences for the Museum. The impact on the organization of social and other elites and the upper social classes is contained by emphasizing the public aspects of its services and by minimizing the expressive and instrumental attachments possible for the social elite and the membership. Over time the use of volunteers by the Museum - volunteers primarily recruited from the social elites and the upper social classes - has been severely curtailed. Another structural consequence of the community ethos has been the introduction of the education department within the organizational framework of the Museum and its increasing size and complexity over time.

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[1] Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962), p. 54.

From the point of view of the membership-as-client it is possible to classify the Museum as a voluntary organization - an organization concerned with the achievement of specific goals, the validation of certain cultural values, and the encouragement of certain instrumental, expressive or normative involvements for its members.[1] Thus many members join simply to support the values of art in the community, or to aid the scholarship funds for disadvantaged students or to be able to qualify for the art classes. The fact that there is a category of public memberships within the formal organization of the Museum has had structural implications for the organization-as-a-whole. The membership supports the Museum financially; the Museum is dedicated to a broadly democratic and community ethos. Yet there is enough feeling that the membership deserves some quid pro quo that the organization is constantly balancing special services and prerogatives for members against its community ethos. How much can it give to members without creating a special privileged group? - this is the question constantly asked by the staff about their membership programs.

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[1] C. Wayne Gordon and Nicholas Babchuk, "A Typology of Voluntary Organizations," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, No. 1 (February, 1959), pp. 22-29. The following discussion owes much to this interesting paper.

The community ethos proclaims an open organization; membership subscriptions close or at least limit the openness of the Museum. The public-at-large is thus stratified between members and non-members, the former being able to claim special prerogatives for their financial support. Only members may join the Museum-sponsored tours; only members may enroll in the art classes; certain lectures are open only to members; openings are reserved for members only.

However, there is another and even more significant way in which the Museum is a closed organization despite the dedication to democratic values. Volunteers are used at two different levels within the organization. At one level - aiding the membership campaign - any member who volunteers is coopted for the activity. Participation in the activities of the museum at this level are open and democratically controlled. Members of the Board of Directors and the Women's Guild are also volunteers. Here membership is closed, ascribed by certain social class and demographic characteristics and self-perpetuating. Entrance is rigorously controlled by those already in power within these two parts of the organization. Despite its democratic stance, the Museum fills a status-conferring and status-ratifying function, albeit unintentionally, for those who aspire to and achieve membership in either the Board or the Women's Guild. General membership in the Museum does not carry this meaning at all.

The organization is thus placed in the position of publicly supporting a democratic ethos which the legally-chartered formal organization contradicts. This organizational ambivalence appears to be more important for the members of the Board and the professional staff than for the general members. All staff members mentioned their concern with the problem of the public conception of the Museum as snobbish. Most of the staff members felt that the public did, in fact, view the Museum as snobbish and that this view was attributable to the composition of the Board and the Women's Guild. Only ten per cent of both the general membership and the Board members had heard the Museum criticized for being socially snobbish; however, twenty per cent of the Board members felt that being socially prominent was very important for selection to the Board while only seven per cent of the general membership felt this to be very important. All staff members felt that social prominence was one of the major criteria for selection to the Board.

The staff projects onto the general membership a view of the Museum not supported by the data collected in the questionnaire. The staff would seem to be projecting its own concern and its own interpretation of the role of the Board in this instance. The professional staff more than any other segment of the organization supports the democratic and community ethos of the Museum - it is part of the professional ethos. The staff more than any other segment of the total organization has to cope with the Board and the Guild and wishes to limit and control their influence not only in policy-making but also in representing the Museum in the public eye. Conflicts between the core and complementary organizations are rare; yet the staff persistently views the members of both the Board and the Guild as "outsiders," as "interlopers."

The Museum may be considered from the point of view of the client in two distinct ways. On the one hand the public in general may be seen as a client and the organization considered a commonweal organization. This point of view is rendered meaningful by the fact that the professional ethos of the Museum makes use of such a public orientation for its own purposes - to control the possible power of the social elite and the upper classes and to serve the ends which the professional staff views as most professional.

On the other hand the Museum may also be considered from the point of view of the membership-as-client - the importance of the membership being crucial since the Museum depends on public financial support. In this sense the Museum could be considered a voluntary organization. The Museum stands for certain values which its membership also upholds and wishes to support; the Museum also extends to its members certain privileges which are withheld from the general public. However, the Museum is placed in an ambivalent position concerning special privileges; dedicated to open, democratic values, the organization of the Museum implements closed, status privileges, especially for members of the Board and the Women's Guild. The organization of the Museum thus contradicts the ethos of the Museum - a conflict concerning which the staff is particularly sensitive. The significance for the Museum of these two contrasting groups - the open membership and the closed complementary organization - lies in the conflict in values and organization that is engendered by trying to accommodate them both.

While the public and the membership are, perhaps, the most obvious clients of the organization, they are not the only ones. The Museum views the public in two distinct ways - as a general and rather amorphous audience and as a congeries of individual audiences. The ethos is addressed to the audience in the first sense; the services of the Museum are addressed to the audience in the second sense. Special audiences are courted with special services. Some of these audiences are courted because the Museum defines a duty-area around them - art classes for disadvantaged children and the blind, a print collection for the aged and the bed-ridden, an art-mobile for the public schools. Other audiences are served in special ways because of their interest in the arts - lecture tours of the exhibitions, lectures about the various objects in the Museum collection, special lectures (with fees) in the appreciation of art; lectures for the membership in the history of art. To the claims of the membership on the services of the Museum, the professional staff adds the claims of other specific audiences.

To its passive function of welcoming visitors to its lectures and exhibitions the Museum adds "reaching out" functions designed to improve the community in specific ways, to make the community a better place in which to live. Neither the audience for the arts nor the audiences for whom special services can be rendered are seen as finite. The audience for art may grow until all members of the community are involved; targets for community improvement are limitless. The clients of the Museum pose the problem of ever-expanding services to an ever-increasing and ever-diversifying clientele while support for such a program comes from a small segment of the whole. Public funding through tax monies would help the financial burden but would necessitate a surveillance deemed far more odious to the professionals than that of their lay Board. Increasing services to special audiences increases the possibility of the Board's calling the staff to account for its policies and decisions about such services. For practical purposes, then, the Museum must be considered as having multiple clients since the organization of its services presupposes plural client groups; and the impact on the organization of so viewing its duties and its ethos is singularly important. That it is not primarily a client-centered organization will become clear in the discussion of its purposes and its drive for professional status.

The Museum is a multi-purpose organization. As it serves many different publics, as it defines itself as both a public and a professional organization, it serves many different purposes. The formal goals of the organization are multiple and may be broadly classified as either technical or public - although these are not mutually exclusive. The technical goals of the Museum are set by its professional staff, with the agreement of the Board, and stem from the staff's acceptance of the standards of the local and national professional community and the University. Maintaining professional standards of excellence in the collection, care, and exhibition of works of art is central to the technical goals. These goals are translatable into the necessary work of the professional departments. Careful research in the preparation of lectures, catalogs, labeling and presentation, adequate protection and care of the objects, selection for viewing based on high standards rather than mere fads, the critical examination of works of art for the public - such are the ideals of quality performance for professional workers. The degree to which the Museum's collections are maintained in good condition, are cataloged adequately, their provenance ascertained; the number of exhibitions the Museum organizes itself rather than relying on those already organized by other institutions; whether the recognized artists in the area contribute to area shows; - the degree to which the Museum receives national professional recognition for its shows; the number of other museums borrowing its exhibitions or objects from its collections - such are the criteria of the success of the organization in achieving its technical goals.

The major technical goals are implemented through the subsidiary goals of the staff - cooperation with the University in presenting a program in museology, publications of analyses of objects in the collections, organizing exhibitions that will have national import,[1] research in the history of art, leading tours in the history of art. In such instances the technical goals of the organization can be effectively converted into practices, into ends capable of achievement, and the success of the organization ascertained.

Such goals are implemented by the Museum's association with the University. The University's interest in the Museum centers on the availability of its collections for teaching purposes, the use of its staff for training purposes, and the use of its facilities for apprenticeship in museology. From the point of view of the Art Department of the University, the association with the Museum should be one of partners in an academic venture - the unique position of an art department that also offers an advanced degree in museology is an academic advantage. The Art Department is well aware of this; most of the Museum staff would welcome such an association. Consequently the professional core organization does not consider the University simply in the role of client - one to whom certain services may be rendered. The Museum would also gain in status by such an academic role and association.

The complementary organization of the Museum does not share the professionals' desire for closer association with the University. Board members state their satisfaction with the current arrangement with the

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[1] For instance, the Museum and one of the art historians from the University have organized a definitive exhibition of the work of Thomas Cole which the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York City will exhibit as its summer, 1969 show.

University and the degree of support from the University - while 35 per cent would be willing to see the University shoulder more financial responsibility, 85 per cent would be unwilling to see the role of the University in policy-making increased. The fear is that the Museum would become less of a community organization and more of a specialized professional Museum. I would venture the guess that the Board is willing to consider the University as a client making a substantial donation to the Museum; neither the professional staff nor the Art Department would share this definition of its role.

Not all the goals of the Museum are easy to translate into practice, nor is the success of the organization in attaining its goals always so easy to measure. Some of the goals concern the public rather than the selection, display, condition and research of the collections. Typical professional goals which are hard to achieve and difficult to translate into policy or practice are these: improving the public's appreciation of art; helping the public to have genuine artistic and creative experiences; broadening the horizons of the public; creating a better environment in which to live. Such broad goals are part of the rhetoric of the professional ethos; the effect of such goals on the organization has been the increase in the size and the responsibilities of the education department and the attempt to enroll more than just the middle-class sections of the public in the Museum's activities. The success of this latter effort has not been outstanding - the overwhelming proportion of the membership is still drawn from the middle class.

Whether the Museum has been successful in enlightening and encouraging the public seems a useless question since there are no reasonable measures for this kind of riddle-solving. Although the ethos is couched in terms of "public" service, the various clients, audiences, and publics that the Museum does serve cannot be considered the public. For the purposes of translating policies into action there is no such thing - there are only specific audiences and clients. As will be seen below, some of these audiences and clients believe that the Museum has been successful in endeavors to increase their pleasure in and understanding of the arts. Some staff members corroborate this assessment, some are skeptical; some accept the professional rhetoric about such goals, some few reject it.

What seems most relevant concerning the goals of the organization is that there is very little formal discussion pertaining to them. Although the Board is responsible for formulating the policies of the Museum, discussions are usually of particular problems - expansion of facilities, charging admittance, whether to build a new wing. Such problems are linked to certain unexpressed goals - the service to the public will be increased with increased facilities; the size of the collections and the number of people viewing the exhibitions make the current space inadequate; charging admittance makes the organization more closed, less open to certain sections of the public which the Museum wants to encourage to use the facilities. By not openly challenging the professional goals for the Museum, the Board acquiesces in the professional definition of these goals. There is no spokesman for other goals; there is no demand for assessment of the success of the organization or its services with respect to the professional goals.

And these professional goals are ambiguous. Desire for increased professional status pulls the Museum staff toward association with the University and the pursuit of very technical goals; dedication to the public pushes the Museum into serving certain large audiences - like the public schools - and the pursuit of vague public-enlightenment goals. Each of these goals is implemented in different ways, makes different demands on staff time, and orients the Museum to very different publics.

At the same time, there are some very important goals which are not formally legitimated by the professional ethos, goals which are covert but which have to be met if the organization is to maintain itself over time. These are the unintentional consequences of the financial position of the Museum. The Museum must satisfy those sections of the public from whom it receives its financial support. The Museum uses, as justification for its existence, the appeal of public good in encouraging these members to continue their support. The staff also feels that it owes its donors a quid pro quo - with consequences, as detailed above, for the organization of the Museum and for its policies.

In the following sections the relation of goals to the structure of the Museum, the problem of the assessment of success in attaining the goals, and the definition of goals by differing parts of the organization will be examined.

CHAPTER FIVE THE OCCUPATION - IS IT PROFESSIONAL?

Until now, I have used the term "professional" for both the organization and the personnel as the museum workers use it - uncritically and rhetorically. The technical staff of the Museum characterizes its occupation as professional and the Museum as a profesional organization. The legitimacy of these claims must now be weighed and the consequences of this usage by the staff for the occupation and the organization must be assayed.

The criteria for classifying certain occupations as professions are generally accepted.

> Any occupation wishing to exercise professional authority must find a technical basis for it, assert an exclusive jurisdiction, link both skill and jurisdiction to standards of training, and convince the public that its services are uniquely trustworthy... In the minds of both lay public and professional groups themselves the criteria of distinction seem to be two: (1) The job of the professional is *technical* - based on systematic knowledge or doctrine acquired only through long prescribed training. (2) The professional man adheres to a set of *professional norms.*[1]

The degree to which any occupation meets these criteria indicates the degree to which it can legitimately describe itself as a profession. Altogether I would suggest seven different criteria culled from the discussions of professionalization: 1) a technical basis for the expertise of the occupation based on a body of relevant abstract knowledge; 2) exclusive jurisdiction over the applications of that knowledge and the control of the occupation; 3) advanced training, academically based, and an apprenticeship in both the theory and the practical skills; 4) public validation of the right of the profession to sole jurisdiction and of the values of the occupation; 5) technical and professional norms for the performance of the task and the performer, a code of ethics governing practice and a norm of service; 6) the development of a professional social structure and culture - the growth of professional and associated groups pertaining to the occupation, such as professional associations, a system of communications and publications, and values and mores associated with such groups; 7) the development of a career-line unique to the occupation.

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[1] Harold L. Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?" *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LXX, No.2 (September, 1964), p.138. Emphasis the author's.

The question of the degree to which an occupation qualifies as professional

> ...does not presuppose an easily visible dividing line between the professions and other occupations. Any traits used in the definition of the term "professional" must be conceived as variables, forming a continuum along which a given occupation may move. Instead of the dichotomy "professional—nonprofessional," we use the variable of "professionalism," and we may ask how far an occupation has moved in the direction of increased or decreased professionalism.[1]

In the literature on professionalization some occupations are seen traditionally as being semi-professions rather than true professions - the work of nurses, X-ray technicians, librarians, pharmacists. The criteria of professionalization are applied to such occupations with varying degrees of stringency. For example, Ernest Greenwood[1] asserts that social workers are indeed professionals, while William Goode[2] refuses the full status of professional to the librarian. Social workers are trained, through graduate, academic training, in a body of systematic knowledge; the community sanctions their right to the practice; jurisdiction is limited as it is in many professions, today, as complex organizations become the locus of the practice; there is a code of ethics governing the practice; and most of the other criteria are met. What social work lacks is high status and prestige within the various healing and service professions - such are granted by a historical process different from the validation of an occupation as a profession.

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[1] William Goode, "The Librarian: From Occupation to Profession?" Howard M. Vollmer and Donald L. Mills, Eds., Professionalization (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966) pp. 35-36

Librarians are denied full professional status on the grounds that neither the quality of their training nor their code of service meets professional standards. The contrasts between the occupations of the librarian and the museum worker will be examined in more detail as criteria for professional status are examined for the latter. First, I would acknowledge that there is a technical basis for the expertise of the museum worker based on a systematic and abstract body of knowledge relating to the expertise and the occupation. There are, however, some interesting problems about the expertise and the knowledge which need discussion. There are two major areas of expertise and knowledge involed in the work of the professional museum staff. One concerns the objects under their care - essentially, "thing" work; the other concerns the process of education - essentially, "people" work. This distinction corresponds to the Major distinction between professional departments within the organization - the curatorial and the education departments. Both of these areas of expertise depend on the detailed, systematic body of knowledge and theory of the history of art. In order to ascertain the areas where art-history knowledge is imperative the following chart of curatorial duties is presented:

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[1] Ernest Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession," Social Work, Vol. 2, No. 3 (July, 1957), pp.44-55.

[2] Goode, "The Librarian," pp. 34-43

DUTIES REGARDING:	KNOWLEDGE REQUIRED
Collecting	To assess: the object's authenticity its place in the collection its place in history and its historical importance its excellence as an example its physical condition its monetary value whether the purchase should be made or the gift accepted
Identification and recording.	to place the object in art history to establish provenance - origin, ownership-history similarity to objects in other collections to establish its catalogue place and identification to label adequately for exhibition to compile a history of the collection with identification data available for the use of other professionals
Preservation	specialized techniques for restoring, repairing and maintaining objects (if the organization is large enough, such highly specialized workers may be found on the staff; otherwise arrangements for the care of the collection are made with the centers which specialize in such techniques)
Exhibition	to select and display by period, area, style or artist to analyze objects for exhibition catalogues to locate objects in other collections

Fig. 2

Such tasks obviously demand graduate training in art history; but they also demand a familiarity with research sources and library materials, the contents of other collections, and the compilation by staff members of an on-going codification of the collection open to other professionals for research and exhibition purposes. Such knowledge also has organizational repercussions insofar as an adequate research library is essential for the staff members.

Only a small part of such work is visible to the public - the exhibitions themselves and the contents of brochures and exhibition catalogs. On the whole the public validates the professional claim that expert knowledge is necessary for the museum worker. Ninety-five per cent of the General Membership of the Museum maintain that research facilities are important; ninety per cent agree that a large library is important. Thus, despite the "backstage" quality of almost all of the museum-worker's activities, the public is aware of the knowledge necessary for such work.

Knowledge of the history of the fine arts is also necessary for those whose responsibilities lie in the "people" work of the museum - those who handle the education programs of the museum. Lectures covering a single object or an entire period, area or artist are the most obvious of the tasks of this department. Exhibition tours and the public-school programs are other ramifications of this responsibility. Lecturers simply must know what they are talking about - their audiences will include other professionals as well as the less knowledgeable general public.

In contrast to the daily work of the librarian, which

> ...utilizes rather concrete, rule-of-thumb, local regulations, and a major cataloguing system...[1]

few museum workers have a routinized daily schedule of activities. Extremely large national museums differ certainly in the degree to which the division of labor is specialized. However, even in large-scale organizations such work cannot be routinized to the degree that the librarian's work is. Furthermore, the museum worker is not likely to assume administrative duties in addition to his regular professional duties, as the librarian routinely does.

> Earlier than in other occupations, the librarian begins to assume administrative tasks. The career line in all professions may, of course, include such work. However, this step is more likely to be taken somewhat late in the career, after a modicum of success. In librarianship, the step is inescapably built into the career sequence, as contrasted with law, for example, where the lawyer's colleagues may see the new job as being out of the profession; certainly, the professor views the elevation to a deanship in such a fashion. Nevertheless, much of this administration is not specific to librarianship.[2]

This step, if taken at all in the career of the museum worker, is taken after success; the most prestigious positions within a museum are the administrative positions of director, assistant director and head of a department. These are seen by the organization and by the workers as rewards for excellence and ability.

Finally one other point must be considered - the quality of the knowledge and the manner in which such knowledge is augmented.

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[1] Goode, "The Librarian," ibid., p.39

[2] Ibid., p.40

> The knowledge must first of all be organized in abstract principles, and cannot consist in mere details however vast in quantity. These principles must be applicable to concrete problems. The relevant employers or clients must also believe that the principles exist, and that they can be used to solve problems which are believed to be appropriately solved by others. Moreover, the profession must not only possess this knowledge; it must also help to create it. Next, the profession must be the final arbiter in any dispute about what is or is not valid knowledge. Finally, the knowledge is somewhat like the "mystery" of the ancient guilds, in that the profession largely controls access to it through control over school admissions, school curriculums, and examinations, and in that it seems to be beyond the capacity of ordinary men.[1]

The general knowledge necessary for museum work is certainly abstract, yet applied to concrete problems. In order to distinguish one type of Attic pottery from another, in order to label or discuss such an object correctly, the museum worker must understand Attic ceramics in general - the history of Attic art and its place in the history of Grecian art - and be able to apply such general knowledge to a specific instance.

A point of greater interest lies in the relationship of museums to traditional academic art-history departments. It is in the latter that research, publication and the augmentation of knowledge has taken place. While the museum worker receives his basic education in an art-history department, his occupational setting is within a different organization. This makes the occupation similar to other applied fields - engineering, research science in industry, and medicine. A few art-history departments with museums of their own or in cooperation with the great metropolitan museums have instituted training in museology to supplement art-history training; in these instances there is no distinction between the professional who teaches, writes, does research and those who work within the museum. In such a setting the two occupations - museum worker and teacher - may be interchangeable. This is another justification for considering the occupation of the museum worker a professional occupation.

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[1] Ibid., p. 36.

Finally, at the present time the museum is in an advantageous position for research. In the United States, most of the objects which the art historian studies are in the hands of the museum professionals. Few universities have museums; fewer have adequate collections. A metropolitan museum or a national museum today is in a salient position not only to do research but to control the access to the objects of research by other professionals. Lack of funds to support such research and lack of agreement on research as a goal for the museum organization have inhibited the development of this potential. The professional code of ethics restrains the museum from obstructing research by outsiders. But the professional drive of the museum personnel constantly pushes the organization into conflict between standard museum goals and the goal considered important by all professionals - research and publication. The implications of this conflict for the organization will be discussed below.

Advanced training, apprenticeship and a distinct career-line also help to identify museum workers as professionals. Such training and the career-line are typical of museum workers whether at the level of subordinates or at the higher status of director and assistant director. The validation of such a career role comes first of all from professional peers rather than from the general public. Consequently the potential professional must make himself visibly to his professional peers. Such visibility accrues over a training and work period in which the specific career-lines are just now becoming crystalized. For most museum directors, for instance, the career-line has been a circuitous one.[1] Considered essential to this career-line are: an education in art history; advanced training at or advanced degrees from one of the handful of schools which offer, in addition to the traditional art history fields, curatorial and museum training programs (Harvard, Princeton, the Sorbonne); work in the field in professionally respectable museums;[2] teaching positions in art history departments or administrative or professional positions in art organizations (American Federation of Arts, State Art Councils); and last, but perhaps most important of all, sponsorship by one of the older, already visible professionals. Without such sponsorship, the fledgling professional would be forever abandoned to the museum "boondocks."

The criteria are in the process of change. Advanced degrees are more often considered essential today than in past years. As university art departments add collections and museums to their campuses, training in museology becomes accessible now to campuses remote from large urban settings with their museums and collections, and students in the pursuit of such training often put in their apprenticeships in the course of their academic work. Hence the university is coming to be an even more important link in the museum career-line, and sponsorship from art departments consequently increases in significance.[1] Museums with the possibility of University association are in an advantageous position; and consequently the push to such association by the professionals of the Museum under study is understandable. The collection is already geared to teaching; a former association exists; the Museum personnel would welcome the closer association with the art department; the art historians could use the Museum collections for both teaching and research; an apprenticeship system could conceivably benefit the Museum by supplying some much needed and trained man-power.

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[1] See, for instance, the interesting sketch of Thomas Hoving, now the Director of the Metropolitan Museum, for the light it throws upon such career-lines. John McPhee, "Profiles: A Roomful of Hovings," The New Yorker, May 20, 1967, pp.49-137

[2] Note the remark of James Rorimer, former Director of the Metropolitan Museum, that one should not start a museum career in the gallery of even the best art dealer. Ibid., p. 56.

Altogether such factors indicate that the occupation meets some of the criteria for a profession - advanced academic training and an apprenticeship in theory and practice. In addition they also indicate the importance of a professional culture and social organization - the importance of professional associations and the values and mores of such groups.

Professional peers become the single most important criterion group; and the professional associations become the focal points for the establishment of professional status and reputation. The professional association[1] becomes a key arena for a Director's performance, not only because his participation in it is a major part of his on-the-job professional performance but also because his reputation is launched within its purview. Through his sponsor he is recommended to positions of importance and to membership in a limited-access professional association: through his sponsor other nationally known figures hear of his promise and recommend him for committee work within the association - and so his reputation and visibility at the national level grow.

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[1] The professionalization of the museum field represents a case in which the typical sequence of events outlined by Wilensky is not invariant. The organization of academic programs for such training has been notoriously behind the demand and continues to be chaotic and haphazard. Harold L. Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?", pp. 142-146.

As with other professional associations, those relating to the museum world act in part as job clearing-houses; hence the professional is always at some pains to keep himself abreast of the activities of his professional association as a form of job insurance. For the handful of men who have attained a national reputation in this professional field, the job situation is always open; but for these few it is never a seller's market for the simple reason that positions of intrinsic value from the professional's point of view are limited - there is only a handful of top museums (public, private, or university-connected). Hence men of eminence in the professional field at large have some concern to identify with their organizations and to pull them, by force if necessary, into the top-ranking minority.

Such considerations mitigate the cosmopolitanism of the museum profession. While standards are set nationally, while professional peers are the most important evaluators of one's abilities, most professionals are also importantly identified with their own organizations. Museum workers tend to be more isolated than other professional groups. There are fewer such professionals; they have more tenuous ties with other professional groups on a local level - for instance, in the case at hand an additional tie that would help identify the museum staff with the professional community of the University art department is missing; criterion groups, I suspect, tend to to be more heterogeneous than the criterion groups of other professionals. Consequently a considerable degree of identification with the organization develops, and the professional standing of the organization becomes singularly important for the museum workers. Other members of his criterion groups are less adequate judges of the professional quality of his organization and work than are members of his own organization.

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[1] Such associations as the American Association of Museums, the American Association of Museum Directors, and the International Council of Museums - UNESCO are here considered the professional organizations of the field.

There is in Rochester, for instance, a formal and an informal organization of criterion groups for the museum professional - those groups to whom he looks for validation of his professional position and for judgments on the quality of his work. Such groups are more important the higher the position one holds within any organization - they are more important for the Directors of the organizations than for the subordinate professional workers. Members of these criterion groups are drawn from the various museums, the universities, the arts and crafts schools, the artists and craftsmen of the area, the galleries; and friendship patterns are also predominantly linked to such circles. The contacts museum workers have with other related professionals and with co-workers usually set the limits of their friendship groups. In this sense the occupation defines both the off-work culture and social organization of these professionals.

As was indicated earlier, the professional associations formally establish the code of ethics, set the values, specify the role of the museum and generally define the ethos of the occupation. *The Code of Ethics* for Museum Workers[1] specifies the following as areas of concern: the public, other museums, the Director, the Board, and the staff. As clients of the museum The Code defines not only the public but also other museums and their professionals and professionals outside the museum fields - art historians, fine-art departments of universities, etc. Toward the general public The Code details what can aptly be described as a noblesse oblige form of conduct - the courtesy of a host, service even when painful or inconvenient, honor in all acts. Since the museum worker acts in trust not only for those present but for the future, not only for the general untutored but for the tutored, he serves not a single public but plural publics. His code urges him to act honorably, not in specific terms but in a general way which will uphold the dignity of his trust and his profession. He should avoid, therefore, acting in interests which would conflict with his interests as a museum worker - acting for galleries, dealers, businessmen; the museum should not compromise its honor or integrity by accepting commissions or inducements in order to serve its own or favored clients' interests. The Code describes the relations which should hold between and among museums in much the same terms as hold among universities - stealing another's employees or attempting to gain advantages in the art market by overbidding on a work known to be under negotiation are unethical. In all cases The Code details the ethics in general rather than specific terms - rule-of-thumb regulations are absent from its formulation.

The necessity for a code arose from certain recurring problems in the museum field. Problems centering around acquisitions, the often shady dealings of the art dealers, the rigging of the art market by the giant museums, persistent problems relating to the trustees and their professional employees, and the problem of service to the public. The Code does not recognize as the formal or the informal rule of service the giving-the-public-what-it-wants position of the librarian.[1] And The Code, itself, does not dress up the rule of a service with pleas for the enlightenment and education of the masses such as were evident in the ICOM literature discussed earlier. The Code expects excellence in the service of all of the museum's goals; and since the museum holds its collections in trust for the future and not just the present, its services must be dedicated to both present and future. While the value of museums is seen

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[1] American Association of Museums, The Code, pp. 2-8.

> ...in direct proportion to the service they render the emotional and intellectual life of the people...[2]

it is not left to the public to make the decisions about such service. Although not overt, the implication is that the professional museum director and staff, with the consent of the trustees, make the decisions about policy and services.

The professional organizations are empowered by their members to act as arbiters in various areas of dispute - notably between Boards and museum staffs.[3] The formal professional organization thus stands behind the professional, supporting him in decisions regarding ethics and policy, giving

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[1] Goode, "The Librarian," p. 42.

[2] American Association of Museums, The Code, p. 2.

[3] Such battles occur with such frequency that the American Association of Museums appointed a Committee on Trustee-Employee Relations in 1954.

> REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE
> To the end that museum standards be constantly raised and strengthened, this Committee urges that the membership empower the President of the American Association of Museums, under certain circumstances later to be set down, to investigate through his appointees instances

him guidelines for the administration of the Museum, and even vindicating him in battles with the complementary organization. Such backing is more crucial for the Director than for other members of the professional staff, yet the support derived from this extramural source is felt by all museum workers..

It seems to me that the norm of service expressed in The Code and in the ethos, discussed earlier, meets the criteria described by Goode.

> The service orientation of a profession is expressed in its code of ethics, which in the traditional professions identifies the statuses of colleague and client (also charlatan or quack sometimes), and specifies the role obligations of the professional to the public as well as to colleagues and clients. No one but the professional himself is bound by the code, which is enforced primarily by the professional community but in part, and usually as a last resort, by statute and administrative regulations as well. The code embodies the terms of an implicit contract between the professional and the society, by which the professional agrees to prevent its members from exploiting a potentially helpless layman and in return receives many privileges.[1]

> of dismissal or other serious conflict between museum personnel and museum trustees. These inquiries shall be made solely for the purpose of putting on the records of the Association the facts of the case for the future protection of the institution and the individual involved and for the greater stability of the profession as a whole.
>
> Under what circumstances should the Association enter a disagreement between museum trustees and an employee?
>
> 1. Only if the Museum is an institution member of the American Association of Museums or if the employee involved is a member.
> 2. Only if one of the parties requests our intervention.
> 3. Only if the circumstances seem to the executive Council of sufficient moment to concern the future welfare of the museum or the employee, or the museum profession as a whole.

American Association of Museums, "Reports on Trustee-Employee Relations", Museum News (September 1, 1955), pp. 5-6.

[1] Goode, "The Librarian," p. 41.

Service is defined more broadly than is usual, perhaps, since not only is the public the client, but other professionals too. Serving other professionals means not only serving in specific ways - allowing the use of the museum's objects, giving aid and information - but also serving the purposes of scholarship and learning, dedication to an abstract ideal of scholarship and the advancement of knowledge.

This occupational group has, then, a code of ethics and an ethos which establishes norms and a cultural setting for it. The interaction of this culture, the organizational setting and the values and attitudes of the other groups with which it comes into contact will be examined in the following chapters. Here, it is sufficient to call attention to the existence of such codes and values.

There is an interesting organizational problem relevant to the jurisdiction of the museum worker within the organization. More and more, the governing boards of museums validate the professional claims of the occupation insofar as the boards insist on trained personnel for prestigious museum positions. Boards usually have complete control over the appointment of directors; today boards insist on professional training for those who fill these positions. Directors, in turn, insist on professional training for the rest of the professional staff - those to whom the technical work of museology falls. The core organization is predominantly professional - even the non-professional staff holds the same values as the professionals, as will be seen below. Final authority is, however, invested in the lay board - matters of policy, the museum's goals, the values of the organization are, at least formally, decided upon by the lay board. The jurisdiction of the professional worker is, therefore, formally limited - he does not have exclusive jurisdiction over the organization. This is not an uncommon problem; many professionals find themselves in similar positions - scientists in industry being an obvious example. Conflicts of interest, conflicts between the lay and professional parts of the organization, conflicts in attitudes and values are, however, frequent in such situations. The museum is not an exception. My own conclusion regarding this conflict within museum organizations is that the occupation is a profession, that its claims are validated generally by its boards and the public, but that the museum worker uses his professionalism to lay claim to ever-greater jurisdiction over the organization. Professionalization becomes a rhetoric - an attempt to influence or persuade those in power to grant exclusive jurisdiction over the museum to the professionals. This is not the way the museum worker views the situation. For him, his professional status is still at stake; for him, only exclusive jurisdiction would validate that professional status. This contention, stated in extreme form, will be examined in the succeeding chapters. At the present it is important to note the existence of this conflict and its potential for creating problems for the occupation and the organization. While other professions have accepted subordinate status within corporate forms of organization, the museum worker views such subordination as lessening his professional status.

Finally, from the evidence I gathered, there is more public support for the profession, more support from the complementary organization than the rhetoric and attitudes of the professional staff would indicate.[1] There is today greater general support for the arts and greater public validation of their importance than in any previous period of American history. While the quality and consequences of this support for the arts is contested by the critics of contemporary culture, the existence of it is rarely questioned. What is overlooked consistently by the critics is the complexity of the arena in which the battles for the fine arts are waged. Public attitudes, however superficial and ill-directed, do not control the fine arts nor direct the organizational and cultural milieu in which they are found. The organizational nexus of the fine arts - the museums, galleries, art institutes, universities - are far more important than the publics. The professions within the fine arts, such as museology, are important for determining public attitudes and the direction and organization of the arts. But these professions have received little or no attention by the critics.

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[1] See the chapters, below, on the publics and the complementary organization.

Museum work is a young profession. I would maintain that there is evidence of the occupation's having reached the level of a profession and that, in great part, this claim of professionalization is validated both by the general public and by other groups concerned with the occupation. In fact, the claim to professionalization is more accepted by the general public than it is by the profession itself. There are, however, many problems and conflicts within the profession and for the organization of the museum, not the least of which is the apparent "inferiority complex" of the museum worker. I do not think there is enough evidence to convict this new profession of undermining the values of the arts, of denigrating their importance, or of trivializing their meaning. Such, at any rate, would be the contention of the critics concerning the professionalization of the arts. In many ways the historic art works of the past are better housed, cared for, preserved and known than at any other time in history. And museums and their workers have been responsible for such success.

Whether the "people" work of the museum has had equal success is more difficult, if not impossible, to gauge. Members of the profession - both the museum worker and the academic - are unequalled in their knowledge and understanding, and perhaps appreciation, of the fine arts within contemporary society. Few outside these professions have the time, opportunity or desire to pursue such interests to such an extent. It could be argued, therefore, that the class of knowledgeable patron[1] has been replaced by an occupation or profession equally skilled and knowledgeable about the fine arts. The ultimate effect of such a profession on the general interest in the arts, on the level of education of the general public, on the survival of the fine arts can only be conjectured.

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[1] In an unpublished paper, I have examined biographies, literature, autobiographies and records of the eighteenth-century French courts to ascertain to what degree the French aristocracy - the favorite example of the critics of contemporary society - could be said to represent an enlightened patron class. While there were distinguished individuals, the class as a whole could not be considered a patron class. The cultivation, interest and skills of such a group are far less than the critics would wish.

CHAPTER SIX THE CORE ORGANIZATION
PERSONNEL, AUTONOMY AND VALUES

The Museum is a professional organization. I make this assertion on the basis of two different characteristics of the organization. First, the professional staff plays the leading roles in the achievement of the organization's goals and objectives. Second, the non-professional staff has adopted not only the professionals' point of view with regard to the definition of the goals and the role of the Museum but also many of the values and attitudes of the professional staff. In this chapter the formal and the informal core organization will be analyzed and the professional value-system will be outlined. Distinctions between the professional and non-professional departments and staff will be described; the role of the Director will be analyzed; certain key departments will be discussed individually; and the informal organization will be specified.

The core organization consists of both professional and non-professional roles and positions, and these are filled by both full-time and part-time staff members. The ratio of full-time non-professional to professional staff members is 2:1; only if the large part-time Creative Workshop faculty is added to the professional roster is this ratio reversed. For the on-going processes of the Museum, however, this group - artists and craftsmen - tends to be less significant than the full-time members. The positions of Director and Assistant Director are filled by professionals. Within the professional departments there are relatively few non-professional staff members. The exhibition department has only one - a secretary. The education department also has but one non-professional position - the Creative Workshop class registrar. The education department lacks any clerical or secretarial help; consequently there are many clerical tasks which fall to the professional staff. This is an instance of the professionals' carrying out non-professional responsibilities; the reverse also happens from time to time - non-professionals are coopted and trained for some of the professional work. The collections registrar, the department secretary, was sent out for registrar training when additional budget monies for a professional position were not forthcoming. Such organizational flexibility usually develops because funds are insufficient.

The professional and the non-professional departments of the organization are characterized by differences in the background and education of their staff members. All of the full-time professional staff members have had a college education; all of the high-status professional positions are filled by persons having graduate training and advanced degrees in art history or museology; 85 per cent of the general professional staff (exclusive of the artists on the Creative Workshop faculty) have graduate training and advanced degrees. Only 40 per cent of the non-professional staff have had college educations. All of the professional staff come from middle- and upper-class family backgrounds - most (85%) of them from backgrounds characterized by high-status parental occupations, high educational achievement and relatively high incomes - whereas only 50 per cent of the non-professional staff come from middle-class backgrounds. Considering this diversity in background, it is all the more interesting that the two sections share essentially the same values and definitions concerning the Museum.

Most full-time staff members are characterized by a high degree of job satisfaction; very few suggested that they were unhappy or dissatisfied with their positions. When dissatisfaction was expressed, it was more likely to be expressed by the professional staff. Among the part-time

Creative Workshop staff, 66 per cent stated that they disliked their work and continued teaching only for the money.

Job satisfaction among the non-professional staff is related to such factors as the relaxed working conditions, the agreeableness of the professional staff, the clean and interesting surroundings, the varieties of responsibilities, and, implicitly, the prestige associated with working in a museum.

Among the full-time professional staff, with only two exceptions, a conscious choice for a museum career had been made during undergraduate years; and graduate work was undertaken with a museum career clearly in mind. The broader scope of museum work was the most frequently given reason for preferring such a career over the more traditional academic career. Museum work appealed because it includes research in art history, the practical application of art-history knowledge to problems in exhibition, curatorial and educational departments, the immediate contact with art objects, and multifarious job possibilities compared to the relatively closed job opportunities and job market within an academic setting.

An important but covert factor in recruitment is the fact that museum work offers opportunities for women rarely matched in the academic world. Among the professionals in the museum under study, women outnumbered men 3:1. Furthermore, women rise to positions of eminence within the museum field less rarely than in academic organizations. One of the three high-status positions within the Museum was filled by a woman; one of the three directors in the history of the Museum had been a woman.

In general the morale of the core organization was high as reflected in such indicators as turnover and absenteeism. The latter was practically non-existent, and the average length of employment for the professionals was seven years and for the non-professionals ten years. The shorter length of employment for the professionals can be attributed to the fact that many professional positions had been recently (within the last ten years) added to the Museum organization. During the time I observed the Museum only one position was vacated and refilled while several new positions within the core organization were created and filled.

Job satisfaction and morale were high among the full-time professional staff members despite long hours and comparatively poor remuneration. The average salary for full-time professionals with graduate training, below the Assistant Director level, was $6,000 a year. This does not compare favorably with other professional positions requiring graduate training, to say nothing of those semi-professional positions which require only undergraduate work. And while the salary for the Director was more in line with salaries for comparable professional positions in other fields, the salaries for the Assistant Directors were woefully low.[1] The pay scale for non-professional jobs, while less than in industry, does not show the enormous discrepancy that the professional positions do. At the same time, the work for the professional staff often involves overtime for which they are not compensated, while the non-professional staff, being on hourly rates, receives compensation. The schedule of Museum activities is vast enough and the organization understaffed enough that overtime is sometimes essential to meet deadlines. While the non-professional staff usually responds to demands for overtime without complaints, the professional staff responds less willingly except to the demands of their own individual departments. General response to the membership department's needs and to the needs of other professional departments tends to be guarded - one of the few evidences of interdepartmental rivalries.

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[1] These salaries, however, compared favorably with a national figure for curators and heads of departments - $5700. American Association of Museums, A Statistical Survey of Museums in the United States and Canada, (Washington, D. C.: American Association of Museums, 1965), p. 29.

The major division of labor which sets off the professional from the non-professional parts of the core organization separates art-oriented work from all other work. Those positions and departments whose primary work involves art are professional departments; those departments whose primary responsibility is fund-raising, public relations, accounting or repairs are the non-professional departments. The work of the professional departments is generally not routinized while that of the non-professionals is typical of the routinized work-patterns of any complex organization.

Even so, departmental boundaries are flexible rather than rigid, in part owing to professional colleague control but also in part out of necessity. Since funds are always limited and never adequate for fully staffing the Museum, the work-load must be shared throughout the Museum - rigid departmental boundaries must be sacrificed to getting the job done; non-professionals must be utilized for semi-professional responsibilities. For the professional staff this means an enrichment of work experience in spite of a heavy work-load; for the non-professionals it means greater responsibilities, greater identification with the organization and the consequent sharing of the professional point of view. The latent effect of the constant financial crisis of the organization is to weld the professional and non-professional staff into a performance team.[1]

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[1] Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1959), p. 77f.

The professional departments are distinguished from the non-professional by title and function, as well as personnel. The professional departments bestow labels similar to academic titles on their members: the head of each professional department has the rank of Assistant Director; the members of the department are located by tenure, training and responsibility along a hierarchy of positions designated by nomenclature - instructor, assistant and associate. The non-professional departments use administrative titles for their positions. Thus the head of membership is the "executive secretary" while assistants are called "clerical assistants". Colleague control characterizes all of the professional departments and also the relations of the heads of non-professional departments to the professional departments but does not extend inside the non-professional departments. Capping the whole core organization is the position of the Director, responsible for the coordination and success of the museum. The yearly schedule includes both activities special to individual departments - exhibition-mounting, cataloging of collections, school tours - and activities shared by the entire staff - the outdoor arts and crafts fair, the yearly membership campaign. Yet cooperation and colleague control are as evident in the second as they are in the first type of activity, the only difference being that those activities involving the whole usually have more formal planning sessions than those in which single departments and fewer staff are involved.

Those departments with a majority of professionals - education, exhibition, curatorial - have autonomy in the pursuit of their objectives, no direct supervision by the Director and little by the Assistant Directors of the departments. Individual members of the departments are linked as colleagues to their Assistant Directors. The staff members of non-professiona departments - membership, public relations, general office, maintenance - are under the direct supervision of the Director and the Assistant Directors as well as their own department chiefs.

While the formal organizational plan specifies direct supervision of these departments by the Director alone, the day-to-day operation of the Museum places them informally under the supervision of the Assistant Directors as well. All professional departments may demand services from the non-professionals; all professional departments expect such services to be rendered even if they are requested at the last moment and interrupt the daily schedule of the non-professionals. Usually such services are rendered; other matters are dropped and the professional-staff requests are accommodated with a minimum of complaint. The membership department is the only non-professional department that has the right to demand aid from the professional staff. During the yearly membership campaign all hands are required to meet the demands of organizing and directing volunteers, committees, programs and special events. The professional staff cooperates, but not with the same grace as the non-professional departments. If cooperation can be avoided by the professionals, it is.

Among the professional departments there seems to be a difference in the degree of informal power. Formally each professional department is seen as contributing equally to the goals of the organization; each professional department has equal authority and autonomy in its internal practices. Pressure of time and money makes conflicts between the professional departments inevitable although rare. Conflicts in scheduling, the allocation of scarce time, material and skill resources, covert priorities in values and functions - such are the areas where conflicts and dissension occur. In each of the four cases that I observed, the resolution was in favor of the exhibition and curatorial departments and against the education department. This implies that the Assistant Director of exhibitions and curatorial functions has more informal power and authority than does the Assistant Director in charge of education. And such is the case, I think, for very special reasons. Exhibition and curatorial functions are closer to the heart of the technical and professional expertise of museology than is education. All of the professional staff name preservation of fine art objects and their display to the public as the primary purposes of the organization. The education of the public by other means - classes in techniques and art history, lectures, school tours - is listed by all professionals as the second most important task for the Museum. There is a tacit assumption held by all that work with the collections and exhibitions is the most significant professional work not only for the staff but for the Museum. It is for this reason that support for research on the collection looms so large for the education department as a future goal - this is the reason research is seen as a necessary function for the education staff. Consequently it can be said that there is an informal hierarchy of power and authority within the core organization which places the exhibition and curatorial departments above the education department and the non-professional sectors. Usually the professional departments accommodate one another - cooperative interaction outnumbered competitive by ten to one. In those cases where priorities are too important, the latent values manifest themselves in the greater power of the exhibition and curatorial departments.

The autonomy of the individual professional departments is increased because of the kinds of demands made upon the Director. The Director's schedule is swamped by his many administrative duties, not the least of which is supervising the public relations and membership departments. He delegates great authority to the professional departments because of pressures on his time and because he feels justified in delegating authority to the professional rather than the non-professional departments. Once yearly goals have been set, the professional departments pursue them with a large measure of autonomy - formally granted by the Director, informally assured by the other pressures on his schedule. And once such autonomy is taken for granted, it is also guarded. Consequently formal staff meetings are resented; frequent staff meetings are avoided. While professional staff members are likely to complain of the lack of over-all direction of the Museum, such subjects are rarely broached in the formal staff meetings. The reasons for this avoidance will be discussed, below, when the value system of the professional staff is analyzed.

The day-to-day operational activities within the Museum are the responsibility of the professional staff. Such a division of labor coincides with the formal organizational plan of the Museum wherein operational and policy-making responsibilities are the tasks, respectively, of the core and complementary parts of the organization.

However, in large measure even the policies of the Museum are set within the intramural organization rather than by the Board and the Director. There is, consequently, an even larger and more real authority for the professional staff members. The suggestions and alternatives which are presented to the Board for consideration and for planning are based on discussions and decisions made by the Director with the professional staff. The direct responsibility for such decisions rests with the Director and the Assistant Directors. Formal discussions are held among the professional staff prior to the yearly Board meeting when the plans for the coming year are ratified. Informal discussion among these staff members takes place throughout the year. Before the annual planning session of the Board, each professional department holds formal meetings of its own staff to formulate suggestions concerning budget and plans for the next year; these suggestions are then communicated to the Director through the Assistant Director.

In general, the kinds of suggestions made by the staff members concern operational rather than policy matters - the desirability of additional school programs, the extension of school services to other counties, the allocation of space and priorities in a building plan, augmenting or diminishing the number of major exhibitions per year, charging admissions to meet the cost of some of the exhibitions. In general, the Board of Directors ratifies staff suggestions.

Implicitly, however, such decisions and the yearly plans that are focused around them are guided by broad policies; and these policies inevitably shape the structure and goals of the Museum. With regard to the structure of the Museum the staff has more authority than it recognizes. The Board is willing to concede that formally, in matters concerning the operation, and informally, in many areas concerning the future plans of the organization, the professional staff has both the right and the reponsibility to make decisions. The professional staff still cherishes the notion that the Board desires and will assume leadership at the expense of the professional goals of the Museum. While this attitude is more characteristic of the lesser-status professional positions, at any time when there is conflict between the complementary and core organizations this attitude is shared by all professionals.

At the same time the professional staff expresses dissatisfaction with the lack of over-all guidance and critical assessment of the broad goals and purposes of the organization. Yet the staff avoids the direct confrontation of such discussions wherever possible. To disguise their own avoidance of this policy-making responsibility, the staff claims the total power of the Board for such decisions and their own lack of power to influence such policies. I think that the avoidance of the consideration of the Museum's direction and the reliance on an empirically unjustified view of the attitudes and actions of the Board is explained by the ambivalence the professional staff feels about the professional ethos. This ambivalence relates to the difficulty of translating the professional ethos into meaningful goals - goals which can be successfully and obviously attained and for which agreed-upon means can be developed. To justify their own feelings of inadequacy in the face of a difficult situation - and the difficulties of grappling with the translation of the professional ethos into Museum policy should not be underestimated - the professional staff uses the complementary organization as scapegoat. The core organization has another excuse readily at hand for justifying their reticence about head-on confrontation over policies - their ever busy and demanding schedules. Discussion of such broad problems as "whither-are-we-going" would take an enormous amount of staff time, uncover many latent conflicts and reduce the teamwork of the whole. However, if the professional staff is to justify its claims to professional status, the responsibility for making the decisions about professional goals for the Museum must be undertaken by them.

The decisions that are rendered by the professional staff tend to support the ethos of the profession - an emphasis on increasing the educational and public roles of the Museum. The general value system of the staff will now be analysed and areas of conflict will be detailed.

Although the core organization is strongly value-infused, the values on which this system is based are precarious outside the Museum. While the profession of museum worker is validated, the value of art is less validated by Museum members and the Board. All of the professionals placed art as the highest or next to the highest value in life. Only 10 per cent of the Board members and 16 per cent of the general membership gave art such an exalted place. The non-professional staff fell between these two extremes, 50 per cent ranking art first or second. Thirty per cent of the Board and 25 per cent of the membership ranked art the lowest of all values in life. Other indications of the precariousness of this value can be seen in the tendency to curb expenditures on art and on museums first of all when the financial belt is tightened.[1] A working system of values, although precarious outside the Museum and the professional groups associated with art, justifies the organization and the work in the eyes of the staff - for both professionals and non-professionals on the job. There is a slight messianic fervor about the bearers of this value system - one senses the missionaries adrift among the heathen - that imbues the actions of even the maintenance crew with a sense of mission and importance.

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[1] For instance, an article "Museums Warn City Budget Cuts May Close Them," by Emanuel Perlmutter, appeared in The New York Times, Sunday, April 6, 1969, Section I, p. 33, with the following dire forecast:

> The city's museums, botanic and zoological gardens and other cultural facilities have warned Mayor Lindsay that they may have to operate part-time, move to other cities or close down if they are forced to comply with budget cutbacks that City Hall is demanding.
>
> The cultural groups said galleries would have to be closed, the operation of many facilities limited, and special programs for schoolchildren abandoned if they complied with a request by Budget Director Frederick O'R. . . . .

The professional staff members hold an articulated system of attitudes and values which distinguish them from all but the most aestehetically sophisticated members of the many audiences of the Museum. This system includes attitudes about the arts and museums in general as well as beliefs about different parts of the audiences. The following statement presents the outlines of this system.

Basic to this value system is the assessment of art - its significance for society. Art is a universal human activity, and the art of any age or society represents some of the most significant contributions of the period or the people. At the present time art must be as free of rigid formalism, institutional trappings and social pressures as possible. Anything that aids in the preservation and understanding of past art forms or helps prepare audiences and artists for the future is of value.

Consequently the importance of the museum goes almost without saying, for here is an organization which preserves and cultivates the understanding of past art forms, educates audiences for past and present by presenting the objects for study and "viewing", trains individuals to "see", cultivates the sensibilities of audiences, and educates in the basic skills of art work. Since both appreciation and creation of art require a mixture of natural inborn talent and training, and since none can tell when and where such talent will be observed, the museum should be as open as possible -

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Hayes to reduce their budgets by 24 per cent.

As examples of what the curtailments demanded by the city would mean, they cited the following:

The proposed reduction of $462,000 in the budget of the Metropolitan Museum of Art would mean it would have to close either on Mondays or Tuesdays, or close half of the galleries Monday through Saturday.

both in its training and as a source of viewing. Its audiences should be broadly based and not narrowly circumscribed by social class; its education program should be adjusted to various levels of appreciation, learning and skill; the objects it offers for display should cover as wide a spectrum of art forms of the present and past as possible. The museum's tasks should be geared to education and not entertainment; and while quality is important, professional knowledge does not allow the making of black-and-white judgments about current and past art since judgments are relative to the period in which they are made. Audiences are plural - many distinct groups, many different levels of education and aesthetic preparation, many different approaches to art. The program of the museum should be as varied as possible to reflect such varied audience interests, all of which are seen as legitimate by the museum staff.

The museum and the staff, however, should also be allowed to pursue strictly professional responsibilities whether or not the audiences and the complementary part of the organization approve or understand such activities: thus research, publications, and the encouragement of these activities should be part of the on-going museum task; the establishment of training programs for museum personnel within the museum should be undertaken; affiliation with academic institutions in order to encourage research, extend the training of museum staffs, and generally to increase and encourage communications among professionals in different organizations should be ventured; cooperative relationships with other organizations for exchange of services, exhibition loans, the communication of ideas should be organized; and vital ties with the professional organizations of the field should be maintained.

Museum members and the complementary organization should cultivate a less quid pro quo attitude about special privileges on the basis of money contributed. That such an organization exists and brings its distinct benefits to its environment should be justification enough for the public and voluntary support of the museum. Furthermore the complementary part of the organization is needed for the interpretation of the museum and the justification of its policies and practices to the public, but this can be accomplished only with the acceptance of the professional point of view about the museum by the extrinsic organization. This acceptance must also be accompanied by a strong feeling of loyalty and dedication to the purposes of the museum - again defined by the professional value system.

The complementary organization is also valuable because of its affiliation with the socially prominent and wealthy, the business and other professional leaders of the community. From such sources come the resources of the museum - and the members of the complementary organization can proselytize and recruit support from such groups and individuals. By the same token, the complementary organization can work informally within the political and financial structure of the community to further the museum interests or to curb the depredations of the business or political power structures.

The logical extension of such premises would be the autonomy of the professionals within the intrinsic organization - the formulation of policies and the control of operations should be basically the responsibility of the professional staff. The well-run museum should not need the interference of the trustees; the trustees should have little else to do, outside of fund-raising and informal lobbying, than the approving of the director's suggestions; the faith between the director and the trustees should be large.

Among the professionals in the core organization there is marked consensus on values and attitudes relating to art, the museum, the artists and the audience. On a check-list of forty-four attitudes the professional staff agreed (usually 75 to 100 per cent) among themselves on thirty-four of the items. Those items showing lack of consensus related to problem areas where there is lack of consensus in the broader professional field. There is, for instance, conflict over whether the major emphasis in art training should be on the development of specific skills or on creativity. There is also professional disagreement about the importance of paid memberships in setting up the museum calendar - whether or not to extend to the paid membership certain privileges not granted to the general public. Many professionals and some of the Museum staff feel that such acts encourage the social snobbery that attaches to the museum and consequently discourages people from lower socio-economic groups from using the facilities and services of the museum. There is also disagreement within the broad profession and among the staff members about the relation of the museum to the public - which groups within the general public should be encouraged, to what extent artists should be favored over other groups, to what extent the level of understanding and appreciation of members and others should be directly challenged or gently urged, how often the most modern art should be presented in order to stir interest and shake settled opinions.

There is greater consensus between the non-professional staff and the professionals than between the professionals and any other groups within the total museum organization. The non-professionals of the museum are more similar to the professionals than are any extramural groups, artists excepted. The Board, the Guild, and the general members all show lack of consensus on attitude items and a dissimilarity to the professional staff.[1]

The non-professional staff agrees with the professional staff on twenty-nine items (the Board and the Guild agree on only fifteen items). Consensus among professionals and non-professionals centers on the definition of the museum, its relation to the public, and the roles of Board and Guild members and general membership within the organization. Attitudes about art, about education in the arts, interest in the arts, and about taste divide the professionals from the non-professionals. Consensus between these two parts of the core organization concerns not the technical, professional aspects of art but attitudes toward the public, the clients of the Museum, and about the complementary organization. The more rhetorical aspects of the professional values have been assimilated rather than technical knowledge or attitudes about the theoretical aspects of art. The latent functions of the non-professional support for these attitudes is again to weld the core organization into a performance team, to ratify the professional aspirations of the technical staff at least intramurally, and to help identify a common enemy - the outsiders and the complementary organization.

The enemy is characterized by the professionals as not sharing the same values for art, as denigrating the importance of art in society, as not validating the professional role of the museum worker, as insidiously undermining professional autonomy and as not accepting the right of the professionals to determine the policies of the Museum. Most of these attitudes have been seen to lack empirical basis; most of them are not overtly expressed since they conflict with the official democratic and public ethos of the professional. Covertly the public is accepted as a partner in the great adventure of art only if it legitimates the superiority of the professional over the layman; the complementary organization is tolerated as long as it helps to foot the bills and does not"meddle" or criticize. One obvious indicator of these attitudes was the general feeling among professional staff that lecturing and tours for children were more beneficial for the children and more pleasurable for the staff than were lectures to adults because the children were more open to new experiences, less prejudiced, and more ready to accept the professionals' points of view.

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[1] See the discussion of the attitudes of Board and Guild members in the chapter on the complementary organization.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CORE ORGANIZATION
AREAS OF ORGANIZATIONAL AND VALUE CONFLICT

The general value system in conjunction with the organizational form of the Museum creates two problem areas for the organization. There is an extramural area of possible conflict between national professional values and local community ties; there is a latent intramural conflict conflict between higher and lower professional value priorities. The staff identifies strongly with both national professional values and the specific local organization. The professional staff members identify with the organization as a source of legitimation for their role, their values and attitudes. The organization, however, is a representative of the larger professional association. Unlike academic professional associations, which are based on the field of scholarship and consequently cut across organizational settings, the professional associations within the museum field are organizationally based. One attends professional association meetings as the representative of a particular museum. One's legitimation as a museum professional is derived from one's status in a given museum. The museum within the community therefore becomes the locus of the universalistic or cosmopolitan values and standards of the entire profession. Identification with such an organization signifies the identification with not local but national standards. Pressure by the professionals is brought to bear on the local museum to conform to national standards rather than to give in to the peculiarities of community taste. Museum professionals thus become those "cosmopolitans" high on loyalty to the employing organization, high on commitment to specialized role skills and likely to use an outer reference group.[1] I would suggest that the organization is so important for the legitimating of both role and value system because 1) the area of professional specialization is of relatively recent origin; 2) the professional associations themselves are not separated by area of specialization but by type of organization (college or public museums, for instance); and 3) the value system itself is precariously placed within the broader system of middle-class values. Currently both the value system and the profession of museum work have too little public support to make role legitimation possible outside of an organization context.

Validation of the professional status of the staff and vindication of the national professional values both take place within the Museum as an organization. At the same time the Museum is almost entirely dependent on local financial support for its survival as an organization. Local public support means that local demands must be taken into account. The complementary organization of the Museum becomes the symbolic representative of such local demands for the core organization. And in reality this sector of the organization does make demands on the core organization that run contrary to the professional interests of the staff members. For instance, approval of the addition of a full-time public relations person was granted by the Board before approval for other sorely needed professional personnel. Furthermore, such decisions are usually made by the Board with an eye to local needs and interests rather than to professional standards.

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[1] Such a case represents a variation from Gouldner's classification. Alvin W. Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles", Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 2 (December, 1957), p.290

Consequently there is an area in which the professional staff must constantly negotiate with representatives of local interests. The staff interprets this necessary negotiation as the "selling out" of professional values, lack of agreement between core and complementary sectors on the goals of the Museum, and non-validation of the professional's role within the organization. The staff desires acquiescence in national standards and the acceptance of professional goals for the Museum.

Within the core organization there are several different levels of value conflict: there are conflicts over the priority of professional values and goals; there are conflicts between professional and non-professional values and goals for the organization; and there are conflicts regarding the professional ethos. Professional values and the goals that emanate from them are concerned with two different operational aspects of the Museum. First there are those values and goals which support the public orientation of the Museum and dictate many of its public functions. The Museum offers special services to those who support it financially - special lectures, the right to attend Creative Workshop classes, the opportunity to join tours sponsored for the membership. The Museum also offers services to the general public - exhibitions lectures, demonstrations - and to specific audiences within the general public - school tours, special classes for the blind.

At the same time there are salient values and goals which are, for want of a better term, here described as profession-oriented. Such values proclaim the priority of the collections, the research on collections and for lectures and publications, the maintenance of quality before the extension of service, and their associated goals - the proper upkeep and care of the collections, adequate registration, cataloguing and labeling for research and custodial purposes, affiliations with the University. These two levels of professional values and goals war with each other for priority among the vaious professional departments.

There are also conflicts over the relevance of those goals and functions which the Museum institutes as special favors for its financial supporters. These are the social obligations of the Museum - the special dinners, the teas, the gala openings that most of the public have come to associate with the ambiance of the Museum and are supported relatively whole-heartedly by the non-professional staff and with reservations by the professionals. On the whole, these are the social goals and the expressive functions of the Museum. There are always latent tensions between the social obligations and the professional goals of the Museum.

And finally, there are among the staff those who support the professional rhetoric and those who deny its meaning. The professional rhetoric proclaims the Museum's responsibility for making the community a better place in which to live, the uplifting of individual and community tastes, the broadening and enriching of experience - all through art. Specific policies and goals derived from this rhetoric are both ambiguous and difficult to implement.

The various departments within the Museum relate to these various levels of conflict and to the different kinds of goals permissible to the Museum in different ways. The professional staff underestimates the degree to which the non-professional departments ratify the professional goals of the organization and the roles of the professionals within it. The success of the organization on professional grounds is the success desired by these departments as well as by the professional staff. The primary importance of the professional roles within the Museum is accepted by these departments; field observations revealed behavioral indications contrary to these expressed attitudes.

Most of the invidious comparisons made about professionals and non-professionals, about local and professional standards are made by members of the education department. The membership department is seen by the education department as the epitome of non-professional involvement and local standards within the Museum. The membership department represents the invasion of the professional organization by the "tea-and-cookie brigade". The critical attitude on the part of education department members reflects the difficulty of the department in setting, defining and implementing its own goals. In this difficulty the education department encompasses more conflict than any other department, professional or non-professional. At the same time the education department more than any other department must face the ambiguities and conflicts within the national professional ethos.

Goals and their implementation are relatively clear and unambiguous for the membership department. As a consequence the department as a whole is efficient and effective in addressing and achieving these goals. The major goal of the membership department is to increase the money income of the Museum through increasing the membership and through campaigns for the collection of funds from special sections of the community. The major problems are the organization of the various fund campaigns - the appointment of volunteer leaders from the complementary organization and the general membership, selecting the focal points around which the campaigns will be built, organizing both volunteers and staff for work in the campaigns, the organization of membership files and accounting, and the technical aspects of monthly mailings to the membership. The implementation of these goals provides a yearly and daily schedule of tasks and events which can be fairly well routinized and consequently carried out by a small full-time staff with volunteers used on both a steady and a part-time basis. The effectiveness of the membership department can be measured by its success in achieving the yearly membership fund goals - a success achieved regularly by this department.

The yearly goals for the increase in memberships and the increase in funds are set ultimately by the Board of Directors; however, the Director and the membership secretary have consulted formally and for long periods of time before the Director tenders suggestions to the Board for final approval. Both the Director and the membership secretary insist on formal discussions and planning sessions; and the Director, despite his busy schedule, accommodates the membership department. The predictable yearly schedule makes it possible to vary the techniques used in organizing the various campaigns; those not felt to be efficient or effective are discarded and new ones are essayed.

The membership staff accepts the professional rhetoric that art is valuable and that the presence of the Museum creates a better atmosphere for the community. At the same time public service and an orientation to the needs of the community are seen as having priority in the policy-formation of the Museum while professional excellence, although important, is seen as second priority. The membership department pragmatically addresses these issues as problems in "selling" the Museum to the public. At the time when the relocation of the Museum to the University campus was contemplated by the University and the Board, the membership department was strongly against the move on the grounds that the Museum was primarily a community and not a professional-service organization.

Since their attitudes and tasks are largely instrumental, the membership department shows none of the ambivalence about the use of volunteers found in the professional departments. The volunteers for the big annual membership campaign are characteristic of the middle-class membership in general but also represent many different kinds of attachments to the organization - some come with a primary devotion to the organization, some to art, some because they believe in the kinds of services offered and the role of the Museum in the community, and some because they were dragged into it by other more active friends. All are accepted and put to work. Staff territory, however, is guarded as much as possible against encroachments by such volunteers - the Museum does not become an open organization even during membership campaigns, when large numbers of outsiders are included in the daily life of the organization. At such times staff territory is marked off from volunteer territory - volunteers usually have coffee among themselves and not with the staff members in the staff room. Specific volunteer activity space is provided separate from staff activity areas; this usually involves the encroachment of volunteer work into exhibition areas rather than behind-the-scenes with the regular staff. The staff maintain social distance and control by asserting their primary identification with the Museum and with specific tasks.

Where the membership department feels it has not been effective is an area where it needs the full support of the complementary organization. Corporate funds have not been contributed to a degree considered adequate by either the membership secretary or the Director. On the average, during the period of this study corporations in the area contributed less to the Museum than did the patron class of members: 204 corporations contributed an average of $156 each; 138 patron members contributed an average of $250 each. The membership secretary is limited by social distance to formal contact in soliciting contributions from this source. The Board of Directors can make immediate personal and social claims on such sources of income for the Museum; the Board, however, is hesitant about making such a personal commitment to the Museum and rejects fund-raising as a primary responsibility. The Director is reluctant to insist on this recognized function of the Board for fear of losing the support which the Board members willingly undertake.

Where the membership department invokes goals which are difficult to achieve is in the occasional focus of its campaigns on community service and enlightenment as the preeminent goals of the organization. Emphasis on such goals supports the professional rhetoric and hastens the ever-increasing spread of services offered by the Museum - services which are not, of course, the responsibility of the membership department

The effectiveness of the exhibition department in reaching its goals illustrates a different kind of problem within the Museum. The primary objective - the organization and display of permanent and temporary exhibitions - has been supplemented by the responsibility for most of the curatorial work of the Museum and participation in the lecture series This department has a more crucial labor shortage than any other section of the Museum. As a consequence, while the quality of the exhibitions has improved over time, while the exhibition brochures have been of excellent quality, other areas less visible to the public eye have been slighted. The care of the collections, the maintenance of curatorial files, the registration of collections and acquisitions have all been neglected. Within the limitations of the budget the Exhibition department has presented excellent fare for both public and professional, in part owing to the staff's willingness to devote long hours to work both in the Museum and at home. But owing to the over-all labor shortage of the department, many tasks signally important to professional standards are neglected. Throughout the Museum and within this department, exhibitions are viewed as a more important responsibility than education. However, the importance of exhibitions is usually coupled with the significance of the collections, their care, maintenance and cataloguing

All staff members agree that collections and exhbitions are the most important aspect of professional work within the Museum - education is secondary and is in part an adjunct to the collections and exhibitions. The exhibition department in presenting excellent displays supports the more visible and public-oriented definitions of the professional roles at the expense of the invisible, purely technical definitions of the professional role of the exhibition and curatorial departments.

Students in graduate classes in museology are always shocked to discover the condition of the registrar files, the tackiness of the art storage vaults, the inadequate precautions taken in storage and care, and the occasional solecisms in labeling of the collections on display. The department rationalizes these inadequacies by pointing to the obvious lack of manpower and by justifying the exhibitions as the life-blood of the Museum - the more important task since the Museum depends on public patronage. At the time of this study, the staff was anticipating the time when a building program would give them a year's respite from the constant exhibition programing in which to catch up with such technical yet necessary tasks. However, the alternative of limiting the number of exhibitions per year in order to accommodate both the public and the technical responsibilities has not been broached as a positive policy by the staff, the Director or the Board. Informally such an alternative is discussed among the staff members. The problem is avoided in formal staff meetings because it would necessitate an analysis of the whole public-orientation-versus-technical-professional conflict.

Part of the responsibility for the neglect of such professional-technical task lies with the Board and in the interaction between Board and Museum staff. As the collections have grown in size and value the need for a full-time assistant director for the curatorial department has emerged as a major problem. While the Director has presented such requests to the Board,. the Board has been unwilling to increase the number of professional positions on the grounds of the additional expense. Curatorial needs, being less visible and understood by the Board, tend to be slighted in favor of more visible work such as that of a public relations staff member. As long as the Museum is capable of mounting the number of exhibitions that it does, the Board is satisfied that the major service is being rendered. While 95 per cent of the Board agreed that public exhibitions, display areas and frequent temporary displays were important, only 75 per cent felt that the care, maintenance and the building up of a collection was important. Consistently the Board legitimates the more public-oriented aspects of the professional responsibilities.

The Board's orientation to such problems is interpreted by the staff as evidence of the non-legitimation of professional values, despite the fact that the behavior of the staff itself can be interpreted in the same way - it too neglects technical professional responsibilities in favor of the more public responsibilities.

On the whole, the exhibition department is effective in attaining its goals only at the expense of the curatorial department's responsibilities. The resolution of commitments pulling in opposite directions - public-oriented tasks and technical, professional tasks - is based on the implicit acceptance and validation of the priority of public goals for the Museum. For the exhibition and curatorial departments there is no ambiguity of goals - for the most part the goals are clearly defined both by the staff members and by the profession at large. Success and effectiveness in achieving the goals can also be ascertained and measured with fair accuracy. What is left ambiguous by the professional staff of the Museum and by the department is the priority of goals given a limited budget and staff. Here, while majority opinion supports one set of goals as the most important (the invisible, technical responsibilities), operational priority is granted the other set (public-oriented goals). The conflict typifies discord within a profession regarding the hierarchy of responsibilities or the priority of tasks assigned to it and is one type of conflict endemic in multi-purpose organizations. For the Museum this conflict can be understood as a problem in the priorities of public-oriented as against profession-oriented goals. Both types of goals are professional - they are validated by both staff members and the larger professional associations. Yet for any organization within which the profession is dominant they may indicate possible areas of conflict; and for those organizations, like the Museum, dependent on public financing, the balance between such differently oriented goals becomes crucial. For the education department, goals are not so clearly specified, nor is achievement so easily measured. This department, while most critical of the achievements of the other departments, has notoriously ambiguous goals, a wide scattering of services and responsibilities, and more generalized conflict about the purpose and role of the Museum than any other department. The split between those advocating public enlightenment and public service and those advocating excellence in a limited range of tasks is more apparent in the education department than anywhere else in the Museum. From one point of view, the purpose of the education department - and the Museum - is public education, raising the artistic standards of the community, enhancing the life-possibilities of the community. Those who support this position tend to want the services of the Museum to increase and reach out into the community through community-oriented programs. Others would limit the services and dedicate themselves to professional excellence. This latter group would welcome closer affiliation with the University and insist on research as a basic staff responsibility.

Within the education department, consequently, there are found two different levels of goal conflict. There is the conflict between public-oriented and profession-oriented goals as in the exhibition department. But in addition there is another conflict which centers on the professional rhetoric. The rhetoric-supporters plead for the Museum's role in public enlightenment, in the enhancement of life-experience through art; the debunkers view the rhetoric as representing a saving-the-world-through-art mission impossible to implement and impossible of achievement in a limited-purpose organization.

The operational responsibilites of the education department include a multiplicity of demands and services, all entailing professional expertise as well as organizational coordinating skills. Three series of lectures offered simultaneously present various department members as lecturers, responsible not only for the presentation and organization of their individual lectures but also for working out the details of the entire series. In addition to such intramural lectures, the staff is also on call for outside lectures covering a wide range of topics. Public and private schools regularly engage the staff for lectures within the school or at the Museum. The staff is responsible for setting up display cases for use in the public schools, equipping the art-mobile bus, maintaining and organizing the print collection for the schools, preparing a slide collection and catalog for school and Museum use, organizing the volunteers who distribute the school materials, training the docents for tours, and writing a yearly newsletter to the schools outlining the Museum's programs for the schools. The education staff helps with the exhibition department's planning; prepares some of the exhibitions and catalogs; aids in necessary research on collections, purchases, and attributions, and for lectures on the exhibitions. In addition the staff is responsible for its own secretarial detail - all correspondence, preparing the copy for the annual report and the budget, preparing and duplicating class schedules, tour and exhibition schedules, school programs - as well as for much of the general maintenance that is necessary for the department. This is another indication that within the various professional departments exhibition work takes precedence.

A typical weekly schedule of lectures and tours for the education department would appear as follows:

WEEKLY SCHEDULE OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

DAY	TIME	EVENT
Mon.	9:30	School tour
		Lecture at high school
	11:00	School tour
	2:00	Lecture for membership
	3:30	Tea and questions among membership
Tues.	9:30	School tour
	9:30	School display kits ready to send out
	9:40	High school tour
	2:00	Lecture tour for members
	8:00	Attendance at Creative Workshop Open House
Wed.	9:30	School tour
	9:40	School tour
	10:00	Lecture at high school
	3:00	Girl Scout Troop tour
	3:00	Lecture to be attended by staff
	5:00	Attendance at reception for visitor
Thurs.	9:30	School tour
	9:40	School tour
	10:00	Lecture at high school
	1:00	University Women's Club tour
	2:00	Lecture for membership
	4:00	Girl Scout Troop tour
	5:00	Meeting with public school representatives
Fri.	9:30	School tour
	9:40	School tour
	10:00	Lecture at high school
	3:00	College art club tour
	8:00	Exhibition opening
Sat.	12:00	Children's classes
Sun.	3:15	Lecture-demonstration

Figure 4

In addition to these regular education department responsibilities there is also the integration and coordination of the Creative Workshop program of the Museum - a large day and evening program of classes in the arts and crafts.

The education department is pushed in opposing directions intramurally and from without. Because the kinds of services rendered by the department may be so easily generalized, this is the department selected for competing for government support with special programs devised to entrap such funds - special programs added to the already burdened program of the department. Because it supports part of the professional rhetoric, the Board is willing to see the services and the personnel of the education department extended at the expense of other professional priorities. The Board also justifies the existence of the Museum by its role within the community, and the services of the education department are more nearly community-wide than those of any other department. The quest for funds from the community imposes a special burden of justification upon the education department. And the rhetoric of some education department members views the Museum's role in generalize community services as most important. All such forces conspire to push the education department into a role congruent with the community-service rhetoric of the profession. At the same time, however, there are countervailing tendencies expressed in the attitudes and values of the department members which are equally important for some of the problems besetting the Museum.

The services offered by the education department place the Museum in direct and instrumental contact with more varied publics and larger audiences than any other aspect of Museum programs. With a predominance of such services, the public-oriented tasks of the education department outnumber the profession-oriented tasks. To maximize the profession-oriented aspect of such public services, some members of the education department tend to emphasize the quality of the tasks - to insist on the professional quality of the performance, on high standards of and a critical attitude toward performance. But the quality of the performance often founders on the demands made on staff time by the multitudinous services. Consequently the staff is hyper-critical of its own performance as well as the performance of other departments, dissatisfied and frustrated in trying to meet the numerous demands on its time with anything like professional quality, and hindered from doing the legitimate profession-oriented tasks within the department - research on the collections for exhibition or catalog purposes, research for the preparation of lectures, aiding other professionals who need services the education department can offer, establishing facilities within the department that implement the research necessary for lectures and school education.

Identification with the professional role in the education department, given the demands on staff time, the multiplicity of services and the general public-orientation of the tasks, leads to two different but related attitudes among the staff: First, the above-mentioned maximizing of the profession-oriented aspects of the public service and the use of stringent professional standards for judging performance; and second, a more overtly critical attitude toward the public than is found in any other department within the Museum. Among those emphasizing the profession-oriented nature of the services, the public is divided into those who share the professional attitudes and orientations and those who are ignorant of such attitudes or reject them. The "insiders" among the public are the artists, art teachers, allied professionals and those members of the public educated in art matters and aware of the professional nature of museum work; all others are "outsiders".

These staff members feel that tours, lectures, classes should be addressed not to the least common denominator, but rather to the "insiders" in the audience. Since audiences for these services usually include "insiders", the staff uses professional standards of quality as its guide. Performances are successful if the professionals are satisfied. Relatively few adults are admitted to be "insiders" compared to the numberless "outsiders". And little can be done to rescue an adult "outsider". Professional attitudes toward and interest in art must be instilled during childhood; few adults have time or interest to pursue the study of art to the degree necessary to qualify as an "insider".

For staff members who support such attitudes (60 per cent) there is no such category as the public. Instead various differentiated publics constitute the potential audiences for the Museum; and these various publics are made up of the different groups of "insiders". "Outsiders," while making use of the facilities and services of the Museum, do not constitute an audience since their attitudes toward art are too diverse. "Outsiders" may have different attachments to the Museum, expressive or instrumental, but they do not legitimately constitute an audience - rather they are the "clients" of the art classes or the volunteers in the various expressive activities the Museum offers. Volunteers in the education department are an illustration of the way in which these attitudes overtly structure the organization. Volunteers are selected by virtue of their backgrounds in art (college training) or their attitudes (sharing the same professional values). Docents, for example, are given a rigorous training in art history - so rigorous that those not dedicated, or not learning to dedicate themselves, to the professional standards are usually washed out. Those who remain form a stable body of docents with little membership change for many years; and some of the docents are coopted for other volunteer activity in the department.

Thus, among members of the education department, while public service is the major orientation of the tasks, role emphasis converts this public-orientation into profession-orientation by redefining the audiences for such services and by stressing the application of professional standards of performance in the role. Approximately 60 per cent of the education department (including members of the Creative Workshop faculty) shared this perspective about roles and audiences.

Another 40 per cent conceived of their roles as essentially public-service oriented. For these members of the department the extension of services within education was not seen as a problem. Their system of priorities placed such services first and considerations of professional quality second. For those who regarded professional quality as the first priority, extension of services was seen as inherently destructive of quality if not protected by additional staff members. This value conflict constantly confronts the education department insofar as forces outside its own control work to increase the spread of its activities without increasing its staff. Both the Director and Board came in for considerable criticism from the profession-oriented since decisions made at the top level of authority were often made without the full knowledge or approval of the education department. This was particularly true when chances of augmenting the funds of the Museum were suddenly presented.

The rhetoric-supporters and debunkers are the representatives of another conflict, obvious in the education department, potential in all other departments. The rhetoric is one aspect of the general professional system of values - that which emphasizes the humanizing influence of art on society and the Museum's role in enlightenment of the public and the elevation of community life, experience, and taste. Although the overt public statement of values associated with this position tends to stress democratic values and participation, there is an underlying authoritarianism about the advocation and the advocates. While believing that the public should experience art and that the personal experience of art is inviolable, the professional is not likely to deny standards of excellence or quality. Hence when the public assumes that its experience is as valid as the experience of the professional, that opinions derived from its experience are as valid as the professional, professional ire is kindled. Some staff members stoutly supporting this position will deny that there are any but the most relative standards in the evaluation of the arts - that the public's reaction is perfectly valid. At the same time these staff members see the need to raise the standards of taste of the community, to enlighten the community, thereby admitting with the left hand what the right hand denies.

These same staff members are usually more hostile to audiences than any other members of the Museum staff. For them the public is divided into three groups - "we", "they", and the "great unwashed" who would welcome enlightenment if they could but be reached. More than any other staff members, these make the complementary organization the real enemies of the Museum - "they" whose values are inimical to art, who would keep the Museum as a private preserve of the socially snobbish. "They" stand in the way of making the Museum a truly public organisation devoted to encouraging the great unwashed. "We" are the true believers - not the academicians or the professional robots, but those who are open to experience, creativity, enlargement, and art. "We" feel the arts; "we" do not need to dissect them classify them, and thereby ossify them and the experience. About 30 per cent of the education staff members held these attitudes.

The remainder of the staff rejected such a position and the implications of the professional rhetoric. However, the professional rhetoric has had an impact on the organization. Public education is a goal supported by the Museum generally. The public of this educational goal is visualized as the largest possible audience. Consequently any service is added that can be judged to increase the sheer number of public contacts - tours for all school children, lectures for general audiences, radio and television programs. Both large-scale audiences and special audiences are courted; hence the ever-increasing services and the generalized content of much of the education department's work. There is, thus, organizational support for a program which takes each school child on a guided tour of part of the Museum's collection each year. There is no organizational support for questioning whether the work and time involved for the staff is advantageously spent in such broad-scale activities, or whether alternative programs might benefit school children more than this kind of guided tour. The staff, caught up in the ceaseless round of scheduling, hardly has time to consider alternatives, plan and implement them; and the possibility is never broached in a formal staff conference.

The effectiveness of the education department in achieving its goals is interpreted differently by the rhetoric-supporters and debunkers. Sheer number of contacts is often used by the supporters to indicate success - the value of art will "rub off" on the young through guided school tours, artmobile visits, classroom lectures. Thus the fact that 13,000 school children visited the artmobile, 5,000 high school students heard lectures, 5,000 students went on guided tours of the Museum are noted both in the annual reports and by members of the education department.as indicating that the Museum is succeeding in its educational goals. Overall, the fact that the Museum yearly accommodates 165,000 visitors or students in some capacity or other is interpreted as evidence that the Museum is succeeding. The values of the rhetoric-supporters, although they are a minority within the Museum, are upheld by the Museum's public stance and by the complementary organization's promotion of the community role of the Museum. The profession-oriented and the rhetoric-debunkers are more likely to use the quality of the services as indicators of the success of the organization. The use of docents for the public school tours is seen as an indicator that the quality of the tours is not professional. While some docents are admitted to be satisfactory, the majority, the debunkers claim, are neither motivated nor adequately trained. Because of their busy schedules the staff does not have enough time to train or supervise the docents. And the elected leader of the docents' group complained that supervision of the tours was left to the docents themselves rather than handled by the staff. She and the other doecents did not feel adequately prepared to criticize each other's performances.

Another complaint of the debunkers concern the preparation for lectures. Again the multiple responsibilities of the staff members, in particular the "busywork" of scheduling and record-keeping, detract from the time the staff feels should be allotted to research and study for the lectures. Since the department has no full-time secretarial help, all staff members are responsible for correspondence, newsletters, department records and keeping up the complex daily schedule for the department. No staff member would be willing to take over the entire task of coordinating such efforts because the task is so obviously secretarial. Consequently there are numerous mishaps with scheduling demanding additional staff time to straighten out. Increasing the non-professional staff of the department would solve this problem and free the professional staff for its technical responsibilities.

Among members of the education department, those who support the rhetoric of the profession and the norm of service, although a minority, are most effective in determining the ethos of the department. They are effective because of support drawn primarily from outside the department and from the complementary organization. If the attitude toward the professional rhetoric and the role emphasis are taken as the two major variables in determining departmental policy, the members of the education department are distributed as follows:

TABLE III PROPORTIONS SUPPORTING THE ORIENTATION OF THE MUSEUM AMONG EDUCATION DEPARTMENT MEMBERS

		PROFESSIONAL RHETORIC		
		Supporters	Debunkers	
ROLE EMPHASIS	Public-Orientation	30%	10%	40%
	Profession-Orientation	---	60%	60%
		30%	70%	

Despite the fact that majority opinion within the education department supports quality services, the limiting of services and the narrowing of goals for the department, the services are continually expanded, without additions to the staff, goals are continually generalized, and discussion of policy problems avoided. The general attitude of other departments helps to create an environment in which public services are seen as more important than profession-oriented tasks; and the community-based nature of the organization, depending as it does on public funds, further supports this general orientation.

In general, the education department has more trouble achieving its goals than other departments. The goals of the rhetoric-supporters cannot be achieved; their scope is so broad as to cover the community and the quality of community responses to art, but the Museum is a limited-purpose community organization. And those debunking the rhetoric and supporting quality services are inhibited by the demands for service made upon the department. The daily schedule of events is met by the frantic activities of a limited staff and by work during the evenings and weekends - much lecture preparation is done, for instance, during such off-hours.

Over-all the Museum is successful in meeting those goals most clearly supporting the public responsibilities of the organization and those most clearly supported by the complementary and other extramural forces. Staff members most clearly supporting the professional rhetoric are a minority of members in the education department and the members of the membership department. Those most clearly supporting the public-service orientation are found in exhibition, membership and education departments. Those supporting the profession-orientation are found in the curatorial and education departments. More departments support the public-service orientation than the profession-orientation.

However, that the professionals and the Museum in general support the public-orientation does not indicate that the intramural organization supports or feels a kinship with the complementary organization. Instead of affinity, disaffection with the complementary organization characterizes the staff's attitude. This stems from the fact that the majority of members in the education department and those associated with curatorial work feel that the profession-orientation of their tasks is forever forfeited to the public-oriented tasks. Furthermore there is widespread sympathy and concern for the neglect of such tasks and the quality of education department performance. All professional staff members feel some ambivalence about the public-orientation of the Museum when it involves the neglect of tasks considered very important to the professional stature of the organization. All staff members view the complementary organization as responsible for not supporting such activities by increasing the number of professional staff positions within the Museum.

Within the intramural organization of the Museum there are no clear-cut indications that mass culture theory is supported or denied. Some factors work to support high-quality professional performance. Those factors which support the public-orientation and goals of the Museum are characteristic of this. Other factors work to the disadvantage of more profession-oriented tasks. Professionalization itself neither supports nor denies the possibility of excellence, but rather works with the different internal problems to produce differing results. Support received from the complementary organization and from other extramural sources tends to support the public-oriented tasks at the expense of the profession-oriented. However, the staff determination of policy, to some extent, and operation, to a large extent, leaves the staff free to pursue quality in those areas less encumbered by financial problems. And this freedom is jealously guarded by the staff to the extent that the complementary organization is always regarded as suspect.

CHAPTER VIII THE DIRECTOR - THE ROLE

The Bylaws of the Museum set forth the duties and responsibilities of this position as follows:

> ### Article XII - Director
>
> Section 2 - Powers and Duties
>
> The Director of the Museum shall be the official administrative head of the Museum, responsible to the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee. He shall have the powers and duties of supervision and management usually pertaining to his office, including the determination of members of the Museum staff, and shall have charge of all of the programs and activities of the Museum. At the close of each year the Director shall submit to the Board of Directors a report of the operations of the Museum for such year and any recommendations which he deems proper and appropriate. He shall also propose before the end of each year, jointly with the Treasurer, a budget of income and expenses for the coming year and shall submit it to the Finance Committee for approval. The Director shall be responsible for the planning of the Museum's programs, exhibits, and activities, and for the maintenance of necessary and appropriate Museum records. He shall recommend to the Art Committee what works of Art shall be purchased, or accepted or rejected as gifts. The Director shall perform such other duties as the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee may properly direct.

This is the only position within the organization of the Museum for which there is a stated directive; and as is usual with such general formal statements, the directive obscures more than it illuminates. Since the duties and responsibilities are both professional and administrative, the position could be described as a case of inherent role conflict.

Who Is Superior?

> Heading a professional organization constitutes a special dilemma. It is a typical case of institutionalized role conflict. On the one hand, the role should be in the hands of a professional in order to ensure that the commitments of the head will match organizational goals. A professional

> at the head of the authority structure will mean that professional activity is recognized as the major goal activity, and that the needs of professionals will be more likely to receive understanding attention. On the other hand, organizations have needs that are unrelated to their specific goal activity. Organizations have to obtain funds to finance their activities, recruit personnel to staff the various functions, and allocate the funds and personnel which have been recruited. Organizational heads must know how to keep the system integrated by giving the right amount of attention and funds to the various organizational needs, including secondary needs. A professional may endanger the integration of the professional organization by overemphasizing the major goal activity and neglecting secondary functions. He may lack skill in human relations. In short, the role of head of professional organizations requires two incompatible sets of orientations, personal characteristics, and aptitudes. If the role is performed by either a lay administrator or a typical professional, one set of considerations is likely to be emphasized to the neglect of the other.[1]

Characteristically a sharp role conflict does occur for the Director. One aspect of this role conflict is an expression of the stress occasioned by the financial dependence of the organization upon the public subscription of funds. Within the core organization of the Museum the force of this stress is sustained primarily by the Director as the exigencies of financing the organization pressure him into a primarily administrative and public-relations role. The first consequence of such financial dependence is a drastic alteration of the Director's responsibilities and duties and the sanctions which may be applied. The operational realities of the role are at variance with the formal statement and with his own expectations

Furthermore, an indirect consequence of the financial pressure alters the relationship of the Director to the professional departments. These departments gain in independence and autonomy as the Director's time is appropriated by administrative responsibilities. The effect of both the direct and the indirect pressure on the Director's position within the core organization is to make his professional role residual. Financial pressures not only occasion a direct shift in the Director's role but also, by indirectly modifying the structure of the organization, help reinforce and confirm the administrative over the professional role.

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[1] Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 82.

There is, moreover, another kind of role conflict engendered, in part, by these same pressures. When the professional role in the core organization is residual, both day-to-day validation of and satisfaction derived from the role evaporate. If responsibilities in the core organization fail to validate the role, there are still professional duties within the complementary organization and within the broader professional field from which both satisfaction and validation can be derived.

The fact of greater role satisfaction and validation outside the core organization adds further conflict to the Director's role and, ultimately, creates problems for the organization. There is a tendency for the Director to shift the focus of his professional concern away from the core organization and to the broader professional field. In such a case conflict occurs between two levels of the Director's professional identification and responsibilities. For the organization, such a choice widens the distance between Director and departments while misinterpretations and misunderstandings increase.

Another conflict centers around the Director's professional role within the scope of the complementary organization. Since the members of this part of the organization are almost entirely non-professional, the problem of their criteria for assessing the performance of the Director and the organization is crucial. Tension between community and professional ideas regarding goals, standards of judgment and excellence, and performance occurs not only for the Director but throughout the core organization.

In order to support these contentions, three different aspects of the Director's role will be analyzed:

1) the balance between professional and administrative duties and and responsibilities in the total role;

2) the area of role performance - essentially, where the performance is staged;

3) areas of negotiation.

The Balance between the Professional and Administrative Aspects of the Director's Role

The boards of professional organizations with a precarious hold on the public's willingness to support them are uniformly guilty of the misrepresentation of official duties. The Bylaws of the Museum make the Director's exemption from fund-raising duties clear:

> Section 4 - Duties and Responsibilities of Board of Directors
>
> The Board of Directors shall assume the responsibility of raising and providing the monies necessary for current expenses of the Museum, for the carrying on of its work and for the acquisition of additions to its contents, and shall be vested with the authority necessary to that end.

Furthermore, when interviewed for the position, the candidate is assured that since "fund-raising is no problem in this community", he will not be burdened by such duties. In fact, the Board members usually "over-sell" the professional aspects of the role. The candidate is continually reassured that his skills are too important to be "wasted" on fund-raising.

For his own part the Director is quite unprepared for the submerged-iceberg effect the financial problem has on his role. Despite the fact that the problem is a constant topic of conversation among colleagues, despite the discussion of it in the professional journals, despite the fact that special sessions of professional meetings are devoted to it, the Director is bewildered and depressed by the insidious effect of this problem on the organization and his role.

> I do have to do much of the fund-raising. Always discuss this at all professional meetings. All of us get tied up in fund-raising, promotion and publicity. The program (exhibitions) even gets tied up with it. All directors hate it. We all compromise.

The duties and responsibilities of the Director's total role are formidable not only for their variety and the expertise that is demanded but also because of their time-consuming nature. With a workweek that frequently extends to eighty hours, with lunch usually a business or professional meeting, with weekends devoted to working or to social functions he feels obliged to attend, the Director is understandably harassed. The pressure on his time is enormous; his recompense, in comparison with other highly trained experts, is discouragingly small, though in this particular case well above the national average.[1]

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[1] "A random sampling of positions offered through the personnel columns of Museum News, published by the American Association of Museums, averaged, on the basis of ten listings each, $7,300 per annum for museum directors; and $5,770 for curators and heads of departments, across the country." American Association of Museums, A Statistical Survey of Museums in the United States and Canada (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Museums, 1965), p. 29.

The particular grievance associated with the Director's schedule is the overwhelming proportion of time given over to administrative duties and, specifically, to fund-raising. The exaggeration of administrative and the corresponding shriveling of professional responsibilities occurs not only day-to-day but also in the yearly round of museum activities. The Director's day is swamped with administrative duties; there is no season--not even the summer--when he can devote himself primarily to professional pursuits. When one separates the various activities into administrative and professional categories, this imbalance is obvious.

Time Schedule--Director

Administrative Responsibilities	Average number of hours per week
1) Public relations Speaking at or attending meetings promoting Museum and its services Attending local events--civic and social--as representative of the Museum Personal contact and corresponding with members, general public, press, TV, concerning Museum and its activities Attendance at Museum and Museum-sponsored affairs--lectures, openings, concerts, art sales, outdoor fairs	15*
2) Fund-Raising Meetings with city, county, state and national officials concerning government support for Museum Membership campaign--attendance at all planning sessions, affairs, committee meetings Work with Board of Directors concerning campaign Work with Membership Department concerning publicity, correspondence, planning and execution of campaign Personal contacts with groups and individuals for fund-raising purposes Correspondence	12+*
3) Long-range planning with Board of Directors Planning for building upkeep and expansion, programs, gifts, publications, staff expansion Correspondence	2

Average number of hours per week

4) Personnel 1
Supervision and evaluation of staff
Employment--hiring and firing
Personal contact and correspondence over personnel or work problems
Correspondence

5) Budget and annual report 2+*
Preparation, writing
Correspondence

6) Organizational 7
Attending various Board meetings
Advising the Women's Guild and attending its meetings
Buildings and grounds consultation and planning
Supervising and mediating the non-professional aspects of programs, outdoor art shows, public use of building and grounds
Correspondence

7) Special problems and emergencies 5
Damage to property, collections, loans
Complaints and inquiries
Hospitality to visiting dignitaries

Total Hours 44+**

* Varies with season--up to 12-14 hours a day.
** Higher depending on season.

Professional Responsibilities

1) Programs 5
Exhibitions: yearly planning and consultation with department head; long-range planning
Lecture series: yearly planning with department heads
Education: yearly planning for Museum services
Workshop: yearly planning and consultation
Correspondence relating to the above
Lectures: preparation and presentation

2) Collection 3
Problems in verification, dating, authentication, assessment of value
Problems relating to maintenance and cataloging
Advising and consultation, long-range planning
Correspondence

	Average number of hours per week
3) Purchases and Gifts Locating, processing, evaluating possible purchases and gifts Research concerning authenticity, provenance, verification Consulting and advising committees Correspondence	4
4) Professional associations Representing Museum at local and national meetings Serving on committees of local, state, and national associations	5
5) Professional expertise Serving on art juries Advising and consulting--local, state, and national groups and projects	2
6) Teaching--private university Academic appointment in Arts Department Seminar in Museum administration Department meetings	*
Total	19+

* 5 hours or more in season

Throughout the year twice as much time is devoted to administrative as to professional duties.[1] More time is spent in public rela-

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[1] The typical formal job description and distribution of time makes no distinction between professional and administrative duties. It was obvious by observation, however, that the administrative commanded more time than the professional duties; and when the yearly desk calendar of the Director was tabulated, the degree of imbalance, objectively documented, surprised even the Director. Below, for example, is the job description the former Director had, for years, presented to the Board:

Percentage of Time Spent in Museum Activities

Activity	% of Time Per Year
Buildings and grounds	10%
Collection	20
Exhibition	10
Membership	25
Program	20
Arts & Crafts Program	10
Library	5
	100%

Furthermore, the former Director did not see the distinction between administrative and professional obligations as important. In fact, for him there was no role conflict.

tions and fund-raising than in the combined professional tasks. Public relations are viewed by the Board members and the Director as essential to fund-raising. The Director's presence at many social and civic affairs is seen as reinforcing the importance of the Museum to the community.

The Director's attendance is tacitly rather than overtly prescribed. The Director feels pressured into attending functions he would rather avoid; he feels relief if other more important obligations make his appearance impossible. Furthermore a subtle sanctioning of his non-appearance occurs. Significant members confront him for an explanation of his absence - either face-to-face or by telephone. He is constantly reminded that "...we have to keep the Museum in the public eye..."

There is also the felt obligation to send a substitute for the Director when he is otherwise engaged. The burden of this obligation falls on the Assistant Directors. The request to them is usually very apologetic; there is much "joshing" about "how far one has to stoop" before losing all of one's values; the importance of the occasion is weighed to see if there is the possibility of "insult" in one's appearance as against the other's; and finally some attempt is made to divide such obligations equally. To my knowledge, no one of lower status than an Assistant Director was ever considered a possible stand-in.

Administrative duties and, above all, fund-raising, then, account for a disproportionate amount of time in the Director's weekly schedule.

Another characteristic of his schedule further illustrates this imbalance - the yearly calendar of Museum events. From season to season major events occur which leave no large blocks of time free for professional pursuits. This holds true even for the summer quarter--even during the month of August, when the Museum is nominally closed and the Director, by contract, has a month's vacation. This yearly calendar includes the following regularly scheduled events:

Yearly Calendar of Events

Season	Administrative Duties*	Professional Duties**
Fall Sept.-Nov.	1) Outdoor arts and crafts show 2) Membership campaign 3) Monthly members' previews 4) Christmas specials planning 5) Open House 6) Budget planning for next year	1) Buying trip for rental collection and Christmas sale (New York--one week) 2) Professional details relating to exhibitions 3) State Arts Council meeting
Winter Dec.-Feb.	1) Campaign for building and endowment funds (not public) 2) Planning for annual report begins 3) Planning for a major juried annual area show 4) Membership previews 5) Staff meeting 6) Christmas specials	1) Museum training class (Sept.-Jan.) 2) Professional duties for juried area show 3) Annual professional meetings 4) Professional duties for other exhibitions
Spring March-May	1) Major area show 2) Annual Museum-sponsored art tour (U.S.A. or foreign) 3) Planning for fall membership campaign, annual budget, annual report 4) Membership previews	1) State Arts Council meeting 2) Every other year may act as tour guide 3) Professional duties relating to exhibitions

* Other events which do not occur regularly include sponsored dinners for special events or visiting dignitaries, for outstanding patrons, for exhibition or gift donors. Also Board meetings occur when necessary rather than regularly.

** Other events which occur frequently but are not scheduled include meetings with the Board to discuss gifts and purchases, expansion of Museum programs, etc. The Director also attends city and county meetings concerning historical preservation, beautification, conservation, city-planning and local museum association meetings.

Season	Administrative Duties	Professional Duties
Summer June-August	1) Annual meeting of Board of Directors 2) Budget consideration and approval 3) Presentation of annual report and discussion of next year's plans 4) Planning for membership campaign 5) Staff meeting 6) Planning for outdoor art fair 7) Summer Open House	1) Planning for exhibitions, education programs, lectures

YEARLY CALENDAR OF EVENTS
BALANCE BETWEEN ADMINISTRATIVE AND PROFESSIONAL DUTIES

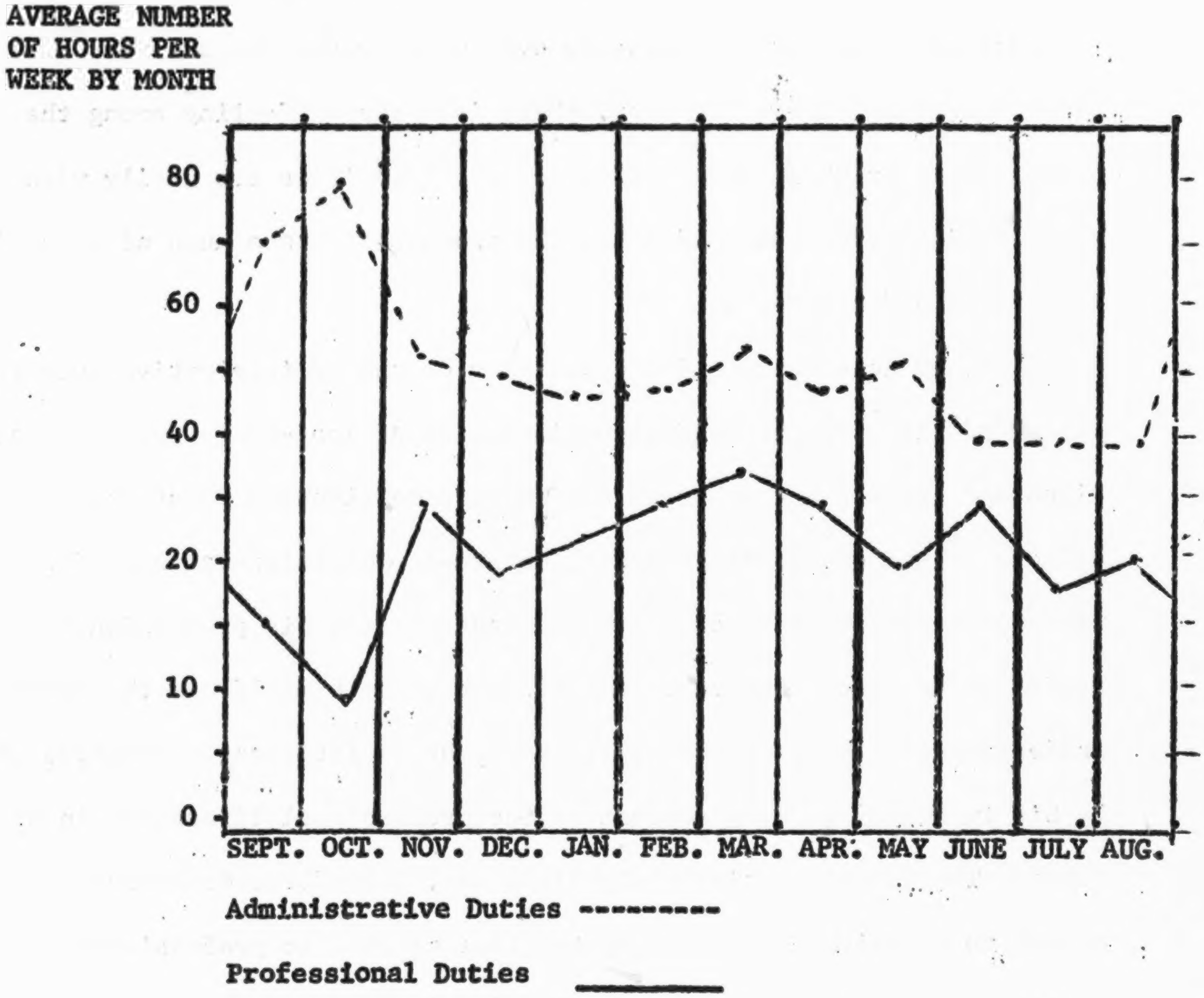

Fig. 5

It is clearly evident that not only day by day but also throughout the year the administrative responsibilities (particularly public relations and fund-raising) overshadow the professional role. Such an imbalance may challenge the Director's professional identification and role dedication--and in this case it does.

By training, skill and previous experience, the Director identifies himself as a professional. He is dedicated to his career and he judges his performance by professional standards. He finds great pleasure in his professional work while he views his administrative obligations as at best a necessary evil or at worst the saboteur of his professional life. In fact, there is a strong feeling among the professional brethren that a Director who identifies too easily with the administrative role and makes the organization too much of a public success is a "huckster".

Another consequence of the salience of the administrative role is a lack of time for thoughtful consideration of long-range professional plans and goals for the Museum and an apprehensiveness about the effects of the resultant pragmatic day-to-day decision-making. The Director feels the lack of colleague contact with his professional staff and is distressed at the distance between himself and the other professionals. And, as the final straw, he is incessantly embarrassed by his inability to keep abreast of the professional literature in his field. The administrative obligations are, therefore, demanding enough to diminish substantially the time devoted to professional duties, thereby making the professional role residual.

This effect of fund-raising and public relations--making the professional role residual--is confirmed when the roles of Directors of the other two museums within the City are examined. The Director of the museum supported by city government funds - the Museum of Science and Technology - spends an amount of time equivalent to that of the Art Museum Director on fund-raising and public relations. He too expects and is expected to appear at most civic and large social gatherings; he is subject to even more informal pressure "to keep the museum in the public eye". He is further subjected to the humiliating formal pressures of surveillance during budget-review season. He must go to great lengths to justify the expansion of museum activities, staff or salaries before more city funds are made available. And for those activities which the city refuses to support but which are thought to be important by the staff and Board, private sources of money must be courted. The residual aspect of the professional role and the magnitude of the administrative role again create conflict and resentment.

The Director of the Museum of Photography - a museum with ample and assured private funds - spends an insignificant amount of time on public relations and fund-raising - this fund-raising being the unintentional consequence of a Museum-sponsored professional publishing enterprise.

Furthermore the financial independence of the Museum of Photography transforms its complementary formal organization. The Board of Directors consists almost entirely of members professionally involved in the Museum's specialty and selected from the nation at large - it is a non-local Board of Directors. Board meetings are held but once a year, and only general policy issues are discussed. The Director insists that these meetings are stimulating and helpful and that disagreement with the Director's policies is rare. The members of the Boards of both the Art Museum and the Museum of Science and Technology are selected from the local population, board meetings are more frequent, policy discussions are rare compared to the amount of time spent in the consideration of immediate practical concerns. Finally, the complementary organization of the Museum of Photography is not burdened with formally chartered women's groups as are the complementary organizations of the other two museums. Thus the Museum of Photography differs in that it allows concentration on professional goals without the "static" created by the incorporation of local lay persons in the formal organization and in the decision-making process.

While the current exhibitions and programs of this museum are announced publicly, they are subject to no local puffery, often receiving more note in the New York Times - such acclamation usually going unnoticed in the home town. No attempt is made to "keep the museum in the public eye"; the Director and the Assistant Directors do not and are not expected to attend the social and civic functions so important to the other Directors. The Director and the Assistant Directors are active in professional duties and responsibilities and in those administrative obligations which are necessary but secondary to their professional roles. In this instance, the professional role is almost total; and role conflict as discussed so far - conflict between administrative and professional obligations and identifications - is essentially non-existent.

Areas of Role Performance

For the Director there are three areas of performance which are significant for the validation of his role and for his identifaction with and dedication to the role: 1) the core organization; 2) the complementary organization; and 3) professional contacts, outside the core organization, on the local and national levels. Each of these areas provides a distinct criterion group,[1] thereby engendering role conflicts which inevitably have their impact on the organization of the Museum. One of the most important effects of the magnitude of administrative duties is to throw the burden of the Director's contacts with either the complementary lay organization or the various outside professional groups, local and national. On the one hand this reinforces his administrative role, often in insidious ways, and on the other, compels him to seek professional role validation outside of his own museum organization with either local or national professional associations. This predicament makes his own organization residual for him in validating his professional role. The complexity of such a situation has explosive implications for both the organization of the Museum and the Director's role.

In the succeeding sections the consequences of these conflicts for the formal organization of the Museum and for the Director's role will be explored - first for the complementary organization, then for the Director's relation to the professional world outside of his organization, and finally for the core organization.

The Complementary Organization

One of the most important criterion groups that a Director must face is the complementary organization - in this case the Board of Directors and the Women's Guild. In the discussion of the Board and the Guild below, it is noted that the members are drawn primarily from those who have resided in the city 25 years or more, who have incomes over $25,000 a year, whose political affiliations are predominantly Republican, and whose attitudes toward art and the Museum are considerably at variance with those of the Director and the Museum's professional staff. The complementary organization is primarily a lay organization. However, since the Director has more face-to-face contacts with the members of the complementary organization - in fact, he bears the brunt of such contacts - the other Museum professionals are protected, to a degree, from the inherent role and attitude conflicts engendered by such differences. The most important role the Director plays vis-à-vis his professional staff is to act as a buffer between the complementary organization and the professional members of the core organization.

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[1] "...the criterion group or groups - i.e., those significant others who are definers of the social role." Melvin Seeman, "Role Conflict and Ambivalence in Leadership," American Sociological Review, Vol. 18 (Aug. 1953), p. 376.

In bearing the brunt of such contacts, the Director is therefore in constant contact with a set whose socio-economic status, political and aesthetic attitudes, and view of the Museum differ from his. That these differences rarely break into open conflict - and that when they do, it is usually over extremely trivial problems - is a tribute to the Director's diplomatic ability - an ability displayed in both professional and administrative capacities. However, this aspect of the Director's prowess is rarely appreciated by the complementary organization for the simple reason that they are largely unaware of the differences in attitudes regarding art and the Museum between themselves and the Director.

The difference in social status, however, is another question. The pressures of this difference are evident in small but crucial indicators: the Director was never seen to work in his shirt-sleeves although the other professionals usually did; the Director's wife was usually in attendance at Museum affairs while the husbands or wives of the other professionals rarely appeared; the Director found it a financial burden to "have to keep up appearances" for himself and his wife, whereas for the other professionals this was not a problem; the Director was often engaged in "chit-chat" at Museum affairs, whereas the other professionals were usually asked technical questions if approached at all by members of the complementary organization; the Director was expected to join such businessmen's clubs as Rotary or the Chamber of Commerce, and a country club, although this was never suggested to other professionals in the organization.

Such conflict situations are aggravated by the Board's conviction that the appearance and deportment of the Director are as important as his purely professional skills. All the Board members who were interviewed concurred with this sentiment. His appearance is considered an "advertisement" for the respectability and advancement of the Museum. Nor does his wife escape the critical eye of the women of the Board and Guild - I have seen obvious negative appraisals of her apparel despite the fact that some of the Board and Guild women are notorious for their rusty blacks dating from remote ages.

The Director's social position is, thus, one of copious ambivalence. He is a relative newcomer in a city where social status is very much tied to extended residence. His income does not permit him the style of life in which those Board and Guild members with whom he has most social contact indulge. He receives invitations to most of the large, important social affairs and is expected to attend. He receives invitations to some of the smaller and more exclusive social events. However, he admits to having no close personal friendships among the Board or Guild members--and they reciprocate. Only one Board and one Guild member held the Director to be among their close personal friends.[1] The Director draws his close friends from among other professionals in his own field, artists, and others interested in the Museum and art but without official capacity with regard to it. He is thus an an sich but not a für sich member of this higher-social-status group.

The use the complementary organization makes of the Director's professional expertise is usually instrumental for other than professional Museum ends. His professional person is used as an advertisement; his professional expertise is used by some Board and Guild members and "significant others" in the City for purely personal ends. He is often asked, for instance, to advise on the personal art purchases of these people, or to evaluate a collection or object, or attempt to establish an attribution. And he is properly resentful of what he sees as a breach of professional ethics and confidence on the part of those making such demands. Both he and the Museum are easily put in jeopardy by his acquiescence to such demands. However, he usually accedes to such requests on the grounds that the object or collection might be willed to the Museum if he does such a favor, although he is candid enough to admit that the chance of such accessions is usually slim indeed.

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[1] Of interest, perhaps, is that another Board member--an advertising executive--refused to accept a distinction between "close friend" and "acquaintance".

The consequences of this situation are several: first, the administrative role is again emphasized over the professional role; second, the demands made upon the Director in matters of appearance and deportment are such as to trivialize his professional identification in his own eyes and in the eyes of the other professional staff members; and finally, the dissonance between his socio-economic status, friendship circles, and political and aesthetic attitudes and those of the Board and Guild members are such as effectively to cut him off from full participation in the local social milieu and to weaken his professional identification with the local area. Enough tension exists that the Director never quite validates his role in the eyes of the complementary organization since the criteria for the evaluation of his performance are neither accepted nor respected by him. He is often seen as a "weak" administrator because he barely succeeds - never gloriously succeeds - in raising the public money necessary for the Museum, despite the fact that fund-raising is not technically his responsibility. At the same time his professional role is not validated for himself through his activities in the complementary organization since these activities rarely have anything in common with his professional experiences.

Professional Contacts: National and Local

It is apparent from an examination of the Director's yearly schedule that the largest proportion of his time spent in professional activities occurs in performance areas outside the Museum - outside, that is, both the complementary and core formal organization of the Museum. Such activities include: research done outside the Museum on the collection - particularly in connection with verification problems;

research outside the Museum on purchases and gifts; tracking down and analyzing possible purchases; attending meetings of national, state, and local professional associations and participating on their committees; acting as a consultant within the area, state or nation for various art-associated expertise-committees - for example, the various conservation, beautification, and historical restoration projects that have sprung up within the last ten years; jury duty outside of local and state areas; lecturing at the University in the City on Museum Techniques - a course usually scheduled one semester a year in the Art Department; giving professional lectures for both professional and non-professional audiences by invitation outside the Museum; and leading art tours at home and abroad for both professional and lay tourists.

The consequences of this scheduling are several: the Director's professional role validation comes primarily from outside his own museum organization; his most important criterion group consists of the professionals outside his own museum; his most important professional performances become those set outside his own organization. This shifting of professional role performance sets the stage for certain value and policy conflicts that occur between the Director and his professional staff within the Museum and between the Director and his complementary organization.

The Director feels pushed to maintain certain basic attitudes about - and pursue certain goals for - his own Museum in order to give voice to the broader professional values to which he subscribes. He also feels impelled by his professional ties to strengthen his reputation by raising the local Museum to more professional stature.

Consequently the Director becomes very conscious of the "professional" shortcomings of his Museum and conscientiously attempts to eradicate them in order that his organization may rank among the qualified, professional museums. The result is often a conflict, muted though real, between the values and policies of the complementary organization and those of the Director. Thus, the Director considered the most important addition to the staff to be a full-time registrar with training and experience, but the first addition to the staff after his appointment was a full-time public relations staff member. The Board of Directors consistently presented the problem as a fund-raising issue; the Director consistently presented the problem as a necessary addition to the professional staff in order to cut the time and job-spread of an already overburdened department. Again, during the discussion of priorities in a building program, the Director insisted on the necessity of air-conditioning in order to safeguard the collection. Consistently this was voted down by the Board of Directors on the ground that funds available could be put to more "obvious" use - a gift shop, an increased art lending collection - fund-raising endeavors with little or no need for staff attention because they could be manned by volunteers from the Women's Guild. The Director won this round only because an outstanding patron made a large donation primarily for the preservation of the collection! In such instances the differences in points of reference and values between professional and local criterion groups are manifest.

An interesting latent difference in point of view is illustrated by the following predicament: During the discussion of building priorities, the Director and all of the staff voiced a concern for the establishment of "membership clubrooms" - space available for committee meetings, volunteer activities, coffee-breaks for non-staff, etc. In other words, all of the staff thought that "membership clubrooms" were a very important addition to consider. Sixty-five per cent of the Board of Directors and 60 per cent of the Women's Guild thought such rooms were of little or no importance. The Director and his staff got their way with this request, and the Board and the Women's Guild were rather flattered at the concern shown for their place in the Museum. In fact, the Director and his staff were reacting to their own "over-availability", which resulted from the ecological organization of the Museum. Board and Women's Guild members have immediate access to the various offices and departments at this time, because there are no free areas where they can be confined. Space is so limited that activities flow out from the offices; volunteers often work within the departments and having gained such access once, are inclined to assume it to be their prerogative forever. The Director and the staff both wanted a free area - a clubroom - with all other areas declared "off limits" simply to get the non-staff people "out of their hair."

If the day-to-day validation of the Director's professional role is minimized within his own Museum, his professional organizations maximize the validation of that role for him. It is in his capacity as a significant professional, and not necessarily as the Director of this particular Museum, that he is invited to represent the United States at international meetings, to give papers at foreign conferences, to participate in the UNESCO Council, or to act as an officer in one of the professional associations within the states. In such situations his professional status is validated in his own eyes and in the eyes of his most-significant-other group.

It is not surprising, therefore, that we find our Director engaged in many activities connected with his professional organization, encouraging their invitations to him and also directing his own Museum toward goals he finds more personally compatible with his self-image as a professional.

In pursuance of such broader professional goals the Director is interested in maximizing the contact and cooperation between the Museum and the University. In this enterprise he has the active interest and advocacy of the Art Department of the University, one of whose members sits on the Museum Board of Directors. The Art Department would relish the use of the Museum's collection for both teaching and research, and has already given the Director a full professorship in the department. As yet the responsibilities of this position are limited to teaching one class each year in "Museology" - only the smallest part of what the Art Department hopes in the future to expand into a full course in museum training. The Director of the Museum is also interested in establishing a professional publication for the Museum in which both the Museum staff and the University Art Department faculty could publish their research. Again, the University Art Department looks favorably on this project. Altogether such association between the two organizations would benefit each professionally. The Board of Directors has shown little enthusiasm for either an increase in collaboration between the two organizations or the inauguration of a publishing venture. Only 55% of the Board members thought that research facilities in the Museum were important; 30% thought them unimportant; and 15% did not know how they felt about such facilities. What stood out most clearly in their reactions to this concern of the Director was their lack of interest. Consequently the Director, if he is to succeed with the publishing venture, must seek out private sources of financing since the Board will not, in the near future, consider the matter important enough to give it priority.

In justice to the Board of Directors, it must be said that there is a not unreasonable fear that the University may usurp more of the services of the Museum than would be justified if it is to remain primarily a community-oriented organization. That such fears are real, that such depredations are possible, was illustrated when the University suddenly announced that it was considering a relocation of the Museum to the University campus. Such a relocation would remove the Museum from a central city locale to a location of more limited access. Pressure was put on the University at the time not only in order to preserve the Museum as a community museum but also to protect the area in which it is currently located - an area which is threatened by encroaching slum neighborhoods. Enough civic ire was roused over this issue that the University desisted from any such plans, but the Board of Directors still suffers from a residual skepticism about the true intentions of the University. In this controversy the University Art Department was in accord with the University administration; but while the Director of the Museum could see certain advantages in such a move, and while he could savour the pleasure of such advantages, he was at one with his Board in condemning the University suggestion. Both the Director and the Board interpreted the wording of the original trusteeship to indicate clearly the community orientation of the Museum.

Such examples of a continual difference of orientation toward museum goals between the Director and his Board could be multiplied, but those described above suggest the scope and direction of this latent conflict. The conflict remains latent because the complementary organization has so little awareness of the "professional" goals and interests of the professional staff. The Board and the Women's Guild orientation is so manifestly directed to "making the Museum pay" that other goals are simply ignored, not recognized, or, when introduced, dismissed as unimportant compared to the immediate priority of financial success. However, such remissness or disregard (as defined by the Director) for the Museum's professional status reinforces the Director's allegiance to his professional organizations — they understand him and his goals for they share common enemies — trustees and financial problems. The American Association of Museums now schedules a regular trustee-professional discussion panel during its yearly meetings, not only to improve Trustee-Director relations but also to attempt to "sell" the professional point of view to the trustees. And finances are the relentless Furies of the museum nether-world.

While the Director is less integrated into the informal organization of the Museum than other professional staff members, he is more integrated into the formal and informal organization of like professionals within the City. Again such integration tempers the "outsider cosmopolitanism" of the Museum Director by facing him with other professionals in the area who share similar problems and perspectives and who act as a criterion group. For the purpose of this study the following members of this group were interviewed: the Directors of the two other City Museums (a Museum of Science and Technology supported by the City government and the Museum of Photography - a specialized art-form museum supported by private endowment), the Chairman of the University Art Department, the Director of a nationally known Arts and Crafts School, and the Directors of three Galleries (one supported and organized by a former art student who includes in his stable the best local artists and some of national and even international reputation; a second which is associated with the Arts and Crafts School, showing the best student work as well as that of nationally famous artists and craftsmen; the third supported by a special endowment to the public library system and showing local artists and national traveling shows when they can be afforded). Of these, only the Director of the Public Library Gallery does not belong to any of the formal or informal organizations of these professionals. All of the others sit on various professional or professionally related boards and committees throughout the area - the Arts Council, The Landmark Society, various beautification and city-planning commissions - and serve as advisors for a variety of public departments - education, city planning, rehabilitation, slum clearance. In addition to this, most of them also belong to the Inter-Museum Council, which attempts to coordinate programs in order to avoid duplication, to aid the participating organizations in membership recruitment and fund-raising, to discuss policy and planning as it affects the organizations, the city, and the area, and to adjudicate the conflicts that often arise between and among the several organizations.

In addition to such formal organizations there are also several more informal groups to which many of these professionals belong. There are discussion and dining clubs meeting at various times and including, in addition to the professionals, other prominent citizens in the arts, professions and education, philanthropists and patrons, and one or two artists and craftsmen of national reputation. As remarked earlier, it is primarily from this group - the members of which are similarly situated professionally, share the same broad aesthetic and political values and hold the same anomalous "outsider" position in a city whose upper class is characterized by long, continuous residence, high incomes, conservative politics and broad social power - it is from this group that the Director draws his close personal friends.

The group as a whole qualifies as a "criterion group" because at the local level it helps define the professional and organizational roles, structures the situation within which the professionals work by shared values and attitudes, applies sanctions to individuals within the group, and, finally, because it is accepted as a "criterion group" by the members themselves - each individual member attested to the importance of the group's opinion of himself as a professional.

Each member of this group is primarily identified with his own organization and not with the City or the area. However, the standards by which each organization is judged successful by the group are not local but national in their character and scope. Thus the most significant role assigned by the group to the professional is that of standard-bearer. The professional is that member of the community who brings national standards of excellence to the practice of his profession, who confronts the public with the difference between local and national standards of excellence and quality, who educates (or attempts to educate) the public to make such judgments for itself. For instance, there was 90 per cent unanimity of opinion regarding the standing of local artists with regard to national criteria of excellence. All members of the group were able to distinguish clearly between those artists who had attained an excellence which would rank them with the best in the nation (or had such potential) and those who varied from "good for a local artist" to "poor" by any criterion. Such judgments were made constantly by members of the group about the artistic potential of the City. Similarly each organization was judged by the members of the group as to the degree to which it approximated national standards of excellence in its presentations and performance, the criteria of its selections for purchase and exhibition, and the extent to which local rather than national standards influenced policy. In fact, such questions and judgments were part of the constant conversational material of the group's members. The City-supported Museum of Science and Technology and the public-supported Art Museum were under constant surveillance by the members of the group because it was felt that they were less resistant to and had less inherent organizational protection from public pressures. And "public pressures" usually referred not to the broad general public but specifically to the "local socials," the "perfumed ladies," the "tea-and-cookie brigade", or the "big-wigs" from the business world.[1] It was this part of the public that was seen as especially pernicious to the interests of the professional organizations of the arts. Those members of the criterion group who were less board-ridden counted their blessings, cursed their less fortunate fellows for being too often weak in holding off such pressures, but rarely "stuck their own necks out" to support the more publicly situated organizations when these were under political or social pressure.

An important divisive force within the criterion group was the conception the various members had of the freedom and autonomy of each other's organizations. A continuum of autonomy ran from the Galleries (with relatively complete autonomy) through the academic departments and schools, to the Museum of Photography (with ample and assured funds), to the Art Museum and the Museum of Science and Technology (with relatively less complete autonomy). These last two organizations were often seen not only by themselves but also by the other members of the criterion group not to be relatively less autonomous but to have no autonomy whatsoever. Their dependence on either City government or public subscription money was taken as evidence of their loss of or lack of autonomy. The Directors of these two organizations were acutely aware of those areas in which the other organizations had more autonomy; however, the "relative deprivation" of their position biased not only their own judgments but those of their peers with regard to the degree of autonomy that did, in fact, exist. Some of the organizations saw themselves as having far more autonomy than was acknowledged by the criterion group members; other organizations were constantly misjudged by the group as to the extent of their "kowtowing".

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[1] These are the terms, not of endearment, by which the men and women of the various socially important boards, museum boards included, are characterized not only by members of the criterion group, but by staff members of the Museum, by local artists, and by other members of the community "in the know".

During the period of my observation of the Museum and its social environment, disputes arose because of the actions of those who considered themselves and their organizations so autonomous that their decisions and actions could be made quite outside of the community's interests and even, in some cases, contrary to the values of the criterion group. In one case the Inter-Museum Council and the criterion group itself unsuccessfully fought the decisions of the organization represented by one of its own members. The organization succeeded in defying public opinion and the opinion of the criterion group because it was in this instance autonomous; however, the bitterness persisted in the criterion group because it was felt that the defiance centered around a value that should have been given precedence by the offending organization and because the criterion group, in this instance, was unable to sanction the organization for its action without leading a full-scale public crusade against one of its own members - an action it refused to take. This particular organization has never quite recovered from its fall from grace among the members of the criterion group - in itself an informal and rather drastic negative sanction. In another instance, a member of the criterion group who was contemptuous of those who "truckled" to outside pressures (and who directed an organization of relative autonomy) is known to have "truckled" himself upon occasion despite his insistence that it was possible to ignore public opinion and pressure from the "local socials". A not-very-secret delight at this faux pas was shared by most of the criterion group members, many of whom had been criticized for their own "truckling".

The Core Organization - A Residual Role Area

In general the Director is both well liked and respected by members of the core organization - professionals and non-professionals. He is viewed by his professional staff as having a fine reputation within the larger professional community; and while sometimes critical of his perormance within the Museum, the professionals are likely to excuse limitations in his local performance as a consequence of the control and inhibiting effect of the complementary organization - the bête noire of the professionals. The non-professional departments also respect him, but in this case the criteria for judgment are linked to his performance and ability in coordinating and directing the work of the non-professional staff. In other words, professionals and non-professionals within the Museum use different criteria for judging the Director. Intramural performance criteria are used by the non-professionals, extramural criteria by the professionals. This difference can be explained by the difference in the structuring and the quality of his relations with professional and non-professional departments.

Respecting the autonomy of the professional departments, the Director imposes fewer constraints on them than on the non-professionals and limits the areas of his own authority over them. There are few formal meetings with the professional departments, fewer informal contacts are maintained than with the non-professionals, and the day-to-day scheduling of the Director's and the professionals' work tends to increase this mutual isolation. The professional departments protect their autonomy by not pursuing specific problems to the point of consultation with the Director and excuse both their lack of contact with him and the absence of policy discussions for the Museum on the grounds that neither he nor they have the time, given their busy schedules. Consequently meetings to determine yearly programs and policies have a catch-as-catch-can quality - scheduled at the last minute when most staff members are available, limited in the time members can devote to them, limited in the scope of the discussion which results, and often with spontaneous agenda for the discussion. While the autonomy of professional departments is undoubtedly served by such practices, and while the scope of authority and responsibility for professional departments is increased, these practices increase the distance between the Director and his professional staff and prevent the coordination of policy and the evaluation of organization goals.

The relative lack of professional contacts with the Director makes it possible for the professional staff to maintain certain prejudices about the role of the Director vis-a-vis the complementary organization. The paucity of professional cooperation between Director and professionals supports the often evident professional attitude that the Director is more interested in serving complementary than core organization values and goals. The Director, with more contacts with the complementary organization, does not share the prejudices of the professional staff about its membership. Increased contact between Director and professional staff could easily lead to more generous attitudes on the staff's part toward the complementary organization as well as to greater understanding of the problems of the Director's role.

The Director, reflecting on the professional staff's attitudes toward the few formal all-staff meetings that are called, hesitates to insist on more formal meetings. The professional staff lets it be known through various gestures that formal all-staff meetings are a "bore." All-staff meetings are usually planned around the several yearly activities which involve all members - the membership drive, the outdoor art show, the summer classes. The professional staff feels that operational rather than policy issues are of central importance in these meetings and that such issues - for example, delegating the authority to assure the provision of outdoor toilets for the outdoor art show to a professional staff member - are beneath its dignity. (Interestingly enough, in this particular case it was an Assistant Director, safe in his higher-status position, who undertook this publicly necessary commission.)

An alternative to all-staff meetings would be intra-professional and inter-professional department meetings to discuss policy and goals. There is a precedent for such meetings in the informal coffee and lunch discussions in which both University art department members and Museum staff members participated before the relocation of the University. Staff members often waxed nostalgic about such encounters; currently staff members take few coffee breaks, and those they do take usually involve only members of their departments. Lunches are shared within clique groups - usually excluding higher-status staff members. Consequently social "breaks" on the job do not have the effect of creating social cohesion, and sociability on the job is fragmentary and limited.

There is, furthermore, enough staff discomfort over the problems of policies and goals to justify some attempt at either formal or informal discussion of Museum problems. Lack of time as an excuse for avoiding such sessions seems to me unjustified, considering the constant expansion of time given to increasing professional services and the fact that non-professional departments manage to schedule appointments with the Director despite his limited time. The professional staff and the Director refuse to give such considerations priority in their assignment of tasks. And it appears that this refusal cloaks an unwillingness to tamper with time-honored conventions and habits. Changes would be made if the professional staff discussed and re-evaluated their policies and goals; latent value conflicts would surface and prove disturbing; and the whole process would consume much valuable time. "Better to let sleeping dogs lie" summarizes the covert staff attitudes.

The paradox which appears for the investigator is that the non-professional departments - those departments which could be characterized as inherently more bureaucratic - are more flexible in adapting to changes in policy and less defensive about protecting their autonomy and their prejudices. The non-professional departments have a more direct and co-operative association with the Director. The Director cooperates in both formal and informal meetings with these departments, coordinates their activities and helps to evaluate their performances. Policies and practices are constantly under scrutiny; changes are frequently incorporated. In all such activities the Director is evaluated as successful by the non-professional departments; and considering the performance of such departments, the departments themselves are successful.

Non-professional department members are able to identify with the Museum and with their department goals with relatively little conflict. Professional staff members in identifying with the Museum often split their identifications with their professions. In working for Museum goals, non-professionals are usually working for their own departments' goals, and vice versa. The case for the professional members is far more complex.

Such complexity, however, does not justify ignoring the very issues that cause problems for the professional members and for the professional excellence of the Museum as well as for the core organization.

The Director's role is validated by the non-professional departments on the basis of his performance of the responsibilities inherent in that role within the core organization. The level of cooperation between Director and non-professional departments makes for coordination and efficiency. At the same time his role vis-a-vis the professional departments is residual - less time is devoted to it and fewer role responsibilities are carried out. Professional validation is made both by the Director and by his professional staff more on the basis of his performance outside than inside the Museum. The contribution of the Director to the total professional performance is limited - whatever his professional expertise, such an arrangement limits the efficient and maximal use of it for the Museum. And the resultant structural and social distance between Director and professional departments limits the potential professional control over policy matters. A policy vacuum exists which could be filled by cooperation between the Director and the professional departments; the vacuum persists, however, because of the professional and organizational conflicts just described.

Areas of Negotiation

The Director is crucial in setting the policy and the tone for the Museum because he mediates between and among more of the important criterion groups than does any other person in the organization. Consequently the decisions the Director makes and the policies he suggests and supports are important in determining the general orientation of the Museum as well as its success in goal attainment. Negotiation takes place both in operational practices and in policy-making. In questions of policy the Director must negotiate with the core organization and the complementary organization as well as with representatives of the broader community and with his national and local professional groups. Negotiation of operational practices concerns, for the most part, only the core organization.

What is least negotiable among the alternative values and policies the Director can present to Board and community is the professional rhetoric - that part of the professional ethos that claims the humanizing influence of the fine arts. The Director is skeptical about this rhetoric and feels that the more profession-oriented tasks of the Museum are its most important goals. Care and expansion of the collections, display, research and education are seen as appropriate goals rather than community enlightenment. On the one hand, his Board, the community in general, parts of the core organization and his own professional ethos stress this rhetoric. His local professional criterion group, on the other hand, tends to deprecate this value and to insist on quality of performance, especially in the profession-oriented tasks. This group also tends to be less sympathetic to public-oriented services than to profession-oriented services.

The museum, in the United States, has been "sold" to communities and to Boards on the basis of the rhetoric. The rhetoric sets the most impossible as well as improbable goals for the museum, consequently frustrating the efforts of museums ever to appear successful in the attainment of goals. Policy decisions made on the basis of the rhetoric stretch the capacity of education services. In turn, such services are used to illustrate the achievement, or at least the appearance of achievement, of the rhetoric goals. Inevitably, sheer numbers of such services are taken as indicators of quality and effectiveness.

Within the community, for instance, the association of the public schools with Museum services helps the public school image and increases the demands for such services from the Museum; the Board sees such public services in the schools as a vindication of the Museum and as support for the rhetoric. Furthermore, Museum cooperation with the public schools augments the budget for the Museum. At least the cost of the expansion of such services is considered to be covered by public monies, although since the bookkeeping of the Museum is not organized around an analysis of the costs of services, the issue remains moot.[1] Whatever his personal attitude about the rhetoric, the Director is placed in a position in which this issue is relatively non-negotiable.

To a lesser extent, the same holds for the distinction between public-oriented and profession-oriented tasks and values. There is more wide-spread support for the public-oriented values and services of the Museum; and financial support depends almost entirely on arguments for the Museum as a public-service organization. However, when the issue of public service is raised outside of the rhetoric, there is more room for negotiation between such services and profession-oriented services. Then it is possible to indicate that the responsibilities of the Museum are two-pronged: visible public services and invisible profession-oriented tasks. It is even possible to assert the importance of such invisible tasks in maintaining the excellence of the public services. Since other professionals are seen as an important audience, their professional respect for the Museum is a criterion for organizational success and profession-oriented tasks are legitimated.

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[1] In fact there seems to be a general reticence about such cost-accounting within the Museum. The cost to the Museum of the special membership benefits - sherry openings, tea and cookies at the lectures, special dinners, monthly bulletins - was not ascertained, nor was the proportion of membership dues covering such costs known.

There was always a balance between the public-oriented requests and the profession-oriented requests made by the Director to the Board. The Director would suggest closer cooperation with the art department of the University, the possibility of a joint research publication between the art department and the Museum; at the same time he would be ready to negotiate such profession-oriented requests with his approval of a luncheon room to be managed by the Women's Guild or a gift shop within the Museum. I noted a consistent time-lag in the Board's acceding to the profession-oriented as against the public-oriented requests. During the observation period, profession-oriented requests were made annually for two or more years before the Board accepted them; public-oriented requests were usually granted as made. The proportion of requests for public- as against profession-oriented services was about 2:1. This means that persistence by the Director is mandatory if his more profession-oriented policies are to be implemented.

Within the core organization there is relatively little room for negotiation. Pressures of time and scheduling give public-oriented tasks priority over the profession-oriented. General policy issues are avoided in the contact between Director and staff on the grounds that there is insufficient time to consider them. This avoidance, I think, can be explained on other grounds.

The staff and, to a lesser extent, the Director view each other's motives and identifications with distrust. The major distinction which the staff makes between values and goals are those which they consider professional and those which are non-professional (the social obligations of the Museum). The staff interprets the position of the complementary organization as supporting only the latter goals and values. There is also a latent feeling about the Director which inclines them to suspect his professional identification. It is generally recognized that his primary contacts are with members of the complementary organization and with professionals outside of the Museum. He is, consequently, suspected of supporting the complementary organization at the expense of the Museum, of being more concerned with the social than with the professional services, of being spurred to his concern for the social through his desire to conciliate the complementary organization members and fill the Museum's coffers.

Staff attitudes polarize not only the values of the organization but also the structure of the organization as they confront problems in their professional work. Organizationally the staff is granted autonomy, yet policies are dictated to a large extent by budgetary necessity. This threat to their autonomy is interpreted by staff members as the non-validation of their professional status. Hence the staff's insistence on certain profession-oriented goals within the Museum - closer association with the University, a stress on research, the use of staff personnel on the art committee of the Board, increasing the professional positions within the organization, and the up-grading of the professional stature of the Museum. In the staff's view, the complementary organization, with the connivance of the Director, sets the tone of the Museum - the pre-eminence of the social over the professional in both values and structure. Although the importance of the complementary organization is over-estimated by the staff, at least on the operational level, and in part on the policy-making level, the complementary organization still serves to focus staff dissatisfactions. The over-all effect is to polarize the total structure of the Museum into social and professional camps - with the staff on one side and the Director and the complementary organization on the other. Consequently negotiations between the staff and the Director concerning policies and services do not address the real issues but tend to concentrate on whether the social or professional tone should prevail in services and policies. The main issues regarding policies are thus side-stepped: the conflict over the role of the professional rhetoric in setting policies for the Museum and the balance between profession- and public-oriented goals. Concomitantly, the real strength which the professionals could rally to support both levels of professional goals and to focus the policies of the Museum evaporates in dissension concerning the social functions and role of the organization.

The most startling conclusion reached after the field observations, the questionnaires and the interviews were analyzed was that a policy vacuum exists within the organization. The Board, while entertaining certain prejudices about policy-making, on the whole leaves the instigation of policy discussions to the Director. The Board is reluctant to grapple with professional policy problems because of a recognition of the technical nature of many of the decisions; Board members feel more at ease about decisions which entail the social and business policies of the Museum. The Director receives no clear directive from his staff, nor does he encourage clear discussions of policy among his staff because for all professionals the issues are confused, at best, and false, at worst. As a result, the

CHAPTER IX THE SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD ART OF THE COMPLEMENTARY ORGANIZATION

The complementary organization includes the Board of Directors and the Women's Guild. Both are legally chartered bodies provided with specific responsibilities and functions; both are closed parts of the organization of the Museum. Membership in Board or Guild is through election and is self-perpetuating. The Board has been in existence since the inception of the Museum; the Guild was added in 1936.

The most important functions of the complementary organization are raising monies for the operating expenses of the Museum, mediating between sections of the community and the Museum, involving community members in the organization of the Museum, and, for the Board, policy-making for the Museum. How the two parts of the complementary organization structure their activities to meet such requirements, how each implements such functions and the success of each in achieving its goals will be considered. Both the value systems of the members of the complementary organization and their social characteristics will be discussed in order to ascertain the interaction of such variables with the structure of the organization.

The Social Characteristics of the Complementary Organization

Several questions must be asked about the relationship of the Board and the Guild to the Museum in order to clarify and understand not only their social composition, but also their organizational position and function. First, does selection into these closed, limited-membership enclaves imply either an "elite" or, further, an "integrated elite" as Hans L. Zetterberg suggests?

> ...it is easy to document the phenomenon that in practise many art activities constitute precisely an integration of the elite.... They meet semi-privately at openings, celebrations or art events of one kind or another.... Here we can observe men and women in command of wealth, power, knowledge, or reverence formulating their agreement on vital issues...[1]

Or

> The men and women who control (emphasis mine) the Museum mostly belong to this established elite, or to a declining elite.[2]

The initial problem will then be an analysis of the social characteristics of the members of the Board of Directors and the Women's Guild as compared to the general membership population. It was noted in a previous section that the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area was characterized by certain special attributes such as a proportionately higher average income, level of education and prestige of occupation than held for the nation as a whole. It was also noted that the City has a relatively large and high-status population, and that the business world was characterized by long-term family ownership of the most important (often internationally important) industries.

The importance of length of residence in the area is clearly demonstrated for the Board of Directors in the following table. However, the Women's Guild represents a somewhat more heterogeneous population.

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[1] Hans L. Zetterberg, Social Theory and Social Practice (New York: Bedminster Press, 1962), pp. 152-153.

[2] Ibid., p. 159. See also the entire section "Art and the Integration of Elites", p. 151 ff.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF
TABLE V YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN SMSA BY MEMBERSHIP GROUP

Number of Years Residence	Board of Directors	Women's Guild	General Membership
0-2	-----	-----	4
3-5	-----	4	21
6-9	-----	8	6
10-15	10	4	9
16-24	25	20	21
25 and over	65	64	34
No Answer	-----	-----	5

Long-term residence in the area distinguishes the membership of the complementary organization from both the general membership and the core organization.

TABLE VI PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AGE BY MEMBERSHIP GROUP

AGE	Board of Directors	Women's Guild	General Membership
20-29	----	----	12
30-39	10	8	28
40-49	15	28	28
50-59	40	36	12
60 and over	35	28	16
No Answer	----	----	4

Again the complementary organization is different from the general membership and from the core organization, favoring the older over the younger in membership.

The Women's Guild education profile is more like that of the general membership than like that of the Board, with the important difference that the Guild has far fewer members in the highest educational category than does the general membership or the Board.

TABLE VII PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY GROUP MEMBERSHIP

Education	Board of Directors	Women's Guild	General Membership	
			Men	Women
Grade School	----	----	----	----
1-3 years H.S.	----	----	----	----
H.S. graduate	----	16	4	19
1-3 years Coll.	5	28	11	21
College Grad.	35	52	27	35
Graduate School	50	4	53	25
No Answer	10	----	5	----

Again, the Women's Guild tends to enlist members from lower educational categories than does the Board of Directors. Furthermore, recruitment at the level of high school graduate is close to the proportion of high school graduates among the women in the general membership. Among the women, one level - graduate training - is under-represented in the Women's Guild.

All of the members of the Board of Directors have had some college-level education (at least for those who answered the question), while 16 per cent of the Women's Guild have had no college training; and 4 per cent of the men and 19 per cent of the women in the general membership have had no college education. The Board is a highly select group, extremely different in its educational profile from the Women's Guild but surprisingly similar to the men among the general membership.

The distribution of income among these three groups also supports the contention that the Women's Guild is more heterogeneous in membership than the Board of Directors:

TABLE VIII PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERSHIP BY INCOME (AFTER TAXES)

Income	Board of Directors	Women's Guild	General Membership
Up to and including $5,000	----	4	1
$5,001 - $9,999	----	16	16
$10,000 - $14,999	5	8	25
$15,000 - $19,999	10	4	18
$20,000 and over	80	60	36
No Answer	5	8	4

Again the Board recruits from a very narrow financial stratum compared to the Guild, and income distribution distinguishes the Board from the Guild and the general membership.

The membership of the Women's Guild is also more heterogeneous when the occupations of the heads of families are considered:

TABLE IX PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF HEAD OF FAMILY BY MEMBERSHIP GROUPS

Occupation	Board of Directors	Women's Guild	General Membership
Professional*	35	36	52
High-Status Business	60 95	40 76	24 76
Lesser-Status ** Business and White-Collar	----	12	17
Blue-Collar Skilled Trades	----	8	6
Other***	5	4	1

*Includes medical, legal, educational, and social service professions and higher civil service and government positions.

**Includes ownership of shops employing less than 50 persons, lower civil servants, and general white-collar positions.

***Includes artists and commercial artists, photographers, editors, newspaper reporters, radio announcers.

It is also immediately apparent from a scrutiny of the preceding table that high-status business occupations are over-represented on the Board of Directors and in the Women's Guild compared to their representation in the general membership while professional occupations, in general, are under-represented. On the whole, however, the Women's Guild shows a closer approximation to the general membership than to the Board of Directors in occupational distribution.

Although both the Board of Directors and the Women's Guild draw heavily upon higher-status occupations - professional and high-status business occupations - the Board of Directors selects only half as many professionals as it does higher-status businessmen for membership; the

Women's Guild selects almost equally from these two high-status occupation groups in addition to selecting 20% of its membership from distinctly lower-status occupational categories - occupations significantly unrepresented on the Board of Directors.

It is interesting to compare the distribution of occupations of the fathers of the members of the three groups.

TABLE X PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS OF FATHERS OF MEMBERS OF THE VARIOUS MEMBERSHIP GROUPS

Occupation	Board of Directors		Women's Guild		General Membership	
Professional	15	58	36	58	28	50
High-Status Business	43		22		22	
Lesser-Status Business and White-Collar	20		14		14	
Farmer	2		4		6	
Blue-Collar Traditional Crafts	5		10		14	
Unskilled	7		2		4	
No Answer	7		12		11	

The most salient characteristic of the distributions of fathers' occupations is the spread from the unskilled to the top professional and higher-status business positions. Whereas the current members of the Board of Directors all come from the professional or higher-status business occupations, only 58% of their fathers held such positions. The same holds true for the Women's Guild and the general membership, although the movement upward is less extreme. In all three membership groups 50 per cent or more come from families whose heads were professional or high-status businessmen. Considering the age distribution of the groups (75 per cent of the Board members, 64 per cent of the Women's Guild, and 28 per cent of the general membership are 50 years of age or older), this means that participation in any of these groups is selective - and rigorously so for the Board of Directors and the Women's Guild. In 1910, for instance, only 4.5 per cent of the general population was found in professional or semi-professional occupations, and only 7.2 per cent was found in high-status business positions.[1] Thus a disproportionate percentage of all three Museum groups comes from high-status backgrounds.

The differences in political identification among the three membership groups is predictable, as the following table illustrates:

TABLE XI PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL IDENTIFICATION BY GROUP MEMBERSHIP

Political Identification	Board of Directors	Women's Guild	General Membership
Republican	85	64	67
Democrat	5	28	21
Left, Liberal, Radical, Independent	5	----	7
Conservative	----	----	1
No Answer	5	8	4

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[1] Gladys L. Palmer and Ann Ratner, "Industrial and Occupational Trends in National Employment," Research Report No. 11, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, September, 1949, p. 21.

It should be noted that this information was collected when the Goldwater campaign for the Presidency was still fresh in the minds of the respondents; approximately 5% indicated that they had been Republican but had switched during that campaign. It can be assumed, then, that those who still identified themselves as Republicans were not unsympathetic to Goldwater - were, in fact, conservative Republicans. The difference between the members of the Board of Directors and the Women's Guild and general membership, then, is indicative of the greater heterogeneity of the Guild and its greater similarity to the general membership.

On important demographic variables such as ethnicity, race, and religious affiliations, the membership of the Board of Directors, the Women's Guild and the general membership all indicate swamping by white, Protestant groups. As mentioned before, the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area is heterogeneous enough to have 22,000 Jewish residents (about 4% of the total SMSA population), approximately 25,000 Negroes (4½% of the total SMSA) and 57,000 residents of Italian descent (10½% of the total SMSA) as well as other ethnic groups which would account for an even larger possibly Catholic group. There are only 6 Negro members of the Museum and only one Negro member of the Women's Guild. There are no Negro members of the Board of Directors.

The following table indicates the religious affiliations of these three groups:

TABLE XII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE BY MEMBERSHIP GROUP

Religious Preference	Board of Directors	Women's Guild	General Membership
Protestant	40	28	37
Catholic	----	4	3
Jewish	5	12	4
Other	----	----	13
None	55	56	42

It is interesting that of the members of the Board of Directors and the Women's Guild, over 50% list no religious organizational memberships while only 42% of the general membership list none. Catholics are under-represented in all three groups. Residents of Jewish background fare better: although accounting for 4% of the total population, they have 5% representation on the Board of Directors and 12% representation in the Women's Guild - a sizeable over-representation considering their proportionate position in the SMSA.

As might be expected, members of the Board, the Guild and the general membership have wide-spread organizational ties. The range of organizations extends from the closed, upper-class country clubs and social clubs and high-status service organizations to lower-status social and service organizations, business and professional organizations, church groups, social problem and civil rights groups. In addition to these more formally organized groups, many respondents also listed informal bridge and tea groups and small discussion groups. The table below presents the number of formal organizations in which the members of the three groups participate.

TABLE XIII PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS BY MEMBERSHIP GROUP

Number of Organizations	Board of Directors	Women's Guild	General Membership
1 through 3	----	16	25
4 through 8	35	48	52
9 through 14	45	28	19
15 and above	20	8	4

The following table indicates the distribution of the various membership groups in selected types of formal organizations:

TABLE XIV PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TYPE OF FORMAL ORGANIZATION PARTICIPATION BY MEMBERSHIP GROUP

ORGANIZATIONAL TYPE - membership in one or more	Board of Directors	Women's Guild	General Membership
Social clubs, high-status: Country Clubs, Junior League, Century Club, limited-access clubs, etc.	95	84	42
High-status service organizations: hospital boards, private school boards, university trusteeship, Historical Society Boards, etc.	90	72	61
Social clubs of lesser status: Elks, Masons, Eastern Star, women's church auxiliary groups, etc.	None	None	7
Organizations with social-problem orientation: Planned Parenthood, Family Service, United Nations, League of Women Voters, Settlement Houses, etc.	30	36	26
Service organizations of lesser status: YMCA, YWCA, PTA, Humane Society, etc.	25	24	34
Civil or social rights organizations: NAACP ACLU, SANE, CORE, etc.	5	8	18

Board and Guild members are likely to belong to more clubs and organizations than the general membership, and especially to those that have higher social status - whether strictly social clubs or service organizations. The general membership belongs on the whole to fewer organizations, to those of lesser social status and to more "radical" social problem organizations than the Board and Guild members. However, the differences among the groups as to number of organizations and type are not large - by and large this population joins! And since they join, for the most part they also contribute large segments of their time to the activities, duties or responsibilities of these organizations:

TABLE XV PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TIME SPENT PER WEEK IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ABOVE ORGANIZATIONS

Hours Per Week	Board of Directors	Women's Guild	General Membership
Up to and including two hours	15	20	30
3-5 hours	20	28	28
6-10 hours	20	16	15
11-15 hours	5	20	6
16-20 hours	10	4	4
21-30 hours	10	4	----
Over 30 hours	10	----	4
None	----	----	6
No Answer	10	8	6

The time spent in organizational activities by the Board members is particularly impressive since 70% of the members are men. Furthermore, despite the fact that 65% of the Board members are 65 years old or over none list themselves as "retired" and all indicate that they still work at least part-time in their occupations. The following table illustrates the general distribution of time spent in occupation or work:

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF
TABLE XVI TIME SPENT IN OCCUPATION BY MEMBERSHIP GROUP[1]

Hours Per Week	Board of Directors		Women's Guild	General Membership	
	Men	Women	Women	Men	Women
Less than 20	20	40	32	11	18
20-29	-----	15	4	----	9
30-39	5	5	12	4	4
40-49	35	-----	20	34	18
50-59	10	-----	12	21	8
60 and above	20	25	16	23	31
Retired	-----	-----	-----	3	3
No Answer	10	15	4	4	9

Long working hours and a high degree of organizational activity are found concurrently with large amounts of time devoted to other leisure activities. These range from the pursuit of various active sports (golf, riding, sailing, skating, skiing, walking), through the practice of various fine and domestic arts and crafts, to more sedentary activities such as reading, listening to music, writing, etc.

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[1] Women were asked to list "housewife" as an occupation if they were not otherwise employed and to estimate the number of hours spent in such work.

TABLE XVII PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TIME SPENT IN LEISURE ACTIVITIES BY MEMBERSHIP GROUPS

Hours Per Week	Board of Directors	Women's Guild	General Membership
Up to and including 5 hours	30	----	10
6 through 15	15	52	37
16 hours and more	40	36	46
No Answer	15	12	7

Compared to both the general membership and the Women's Guild, the Board of Directors indicate less time spent in leisure activities.

In general, then, the social characteristics of the Board of Directors and the Women's Guild are distinctly upper-middle- and upper-class - with the important distinction that the Guild is more heterogeneous than the Board. Further, while there are some differences between these two parts of the complementary organization and the general membership, the differences are never very large - the membership of the Museum is also distinctly more educated, with higher-status occupations and incomes, than the population of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. Therefore, if there is an elite, an organized, self-conscious elite, in Zetterberg's sense, it would have to be an extremely large one and encompass a degree of heterogeneity not usually included in the conceptions of "elite". To conclude that the complementary organization of the Museum is a cohesive elite group on the basis of the above statistical data would be hazardous. Furthermore the data drawn from the qualitative research do not substantiate the use of such an elite model. At no time did a sense of group identity or solidarity pervade the Board or the Women's Guild meetings. At no time did I witness more than two or three people forming a close, intimate, solidary grouping. Just the opposite seemed to be the case - the lack of group solidarity seemed much more characteristic of both parts of the organization than did the presence of such an attribute.

Despite the fact that both the Board and the Guild are characterized by a general similarity of socio-economic status and background, their attitudes about the Museum and art are singularly without consensus. On an attitude check-list of 44 items[1] the Board and Guild together agreed on only 15 whereas the professional staff agreed on 34. Even when the non-professional staff was added to the professional staff of the Museum, there was still consensus on 29 of the items.

Taken separately, the Board agreed on 20 items and the Guild on 23 - slightly more consensus among the slightly more heterogeneous group. The general membership agreed on 17 items but shared consensus on only 13 of the 15 items which the Board, Guild and staff agreed upon. Agreement among Board and Guild members centered around the role of art in the community, the functions of the Museum, and certain values about education in art. Both groups judged the role of art important for the community and for the individual - the community benefited by the presence of the Museum; the individual benefited by the presence of art. Both of these attitudes seem to be related to the professional rhetoric regarding the humanizing and civilizing influence of the fine arts. People are judged to be uneducated without an exposure to the arts; education in the arts improves the person. In the community the arts and the Museum raise the standards of appreciation and the level of taste, while at the same time serving more pragmatic business interests. Board members recognized the cultural potential of the Museum as an attraction in recruiting the kind of person "Rochester wants and needs."

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[1] The respondents were asked whether they strongly agreed, moderately agreed, were neutral, moderately disagreed or strongly disagreed with or about each item. Consensus is defined as sixty per cent or more of the group's agreeing or disagreeing with an item - a rough but, from what I know of the groups, reliable indication of their attitudes.

There was general agreement among both Board and Guild members concerning the functions of the Museum: education, collecting and exhibitions were ranked high. All agreed that the Museum should endeavor to raise the level of appreciation by showing exhibitions above the level of the community. There was even agreement that the most contemporary art should be shown by the Museum despite the fact that Board and Guild members heard more criticisms regarding "far-out" art than about any other aspect of Museum services. In general both education and exhibitions were regarded as more important than collections. Nationally important exhibitions were considered more valuable for the community than collections because the latter were more limited in appeal. Such attitudes support the more publicly oriented professional services of the Museum. There was almost no comprehension of the more profession-oriented tasks of the Museum: few members of the complementary organization felt that increases in the professional staff positions outside of education were necessary; more Guild members than Board members felt that research was a vital Museum function, although neither ranked it as generally important; for the most part both Board and Guild members are unfamiliar with the backstage professional performances of the staff.

Both Board and Guild also agreed that maintaining the standards of the fine arts was a very important function of the Museum. However, when they were asked to clarify what was meant by such a statement, it appeared that high standards were equated with "good art" and good art in turn was usually defined as "what I like." While the professional staff has a battery of criteria for evaluating art and for establishing the standards of art, Board and Guild members were less likely to use the same criteria and more likely to rely on personal likes and dislikes.[1]

Both groups have absorbed professional attitudes toward understanding and appreciation. The more one understands about art, the greater the appreciation and enjoyment; understanding develops through visual education; the most important aspect of visual education is seeing rather than hearing about art; however, guidance - education - by those professionally trained is essential. The Guild members support such attitudes by attending lectures and classes; both groups report regular attendance at exhibitions.

In general, the attitudes and values of the members of the complementary organization do not contradict professional values. Differences between core and complementary organization members are found in matters relating to taste, likes and dislikes, and judgments concerning the centrality of art in one's values. Complementary organization members are less likely to support the avant garde in art, more likely to enjoy traditional art (although this enjoyment is shared with the core organization members) over other forms of art, and less likely to feel that art is a central value in their lives. Their conception of the Museum is formed almost entirely from a knowledge of its public, visible functions; their unfamiliarity with backstage tasks leads them to less support of profession-oriented services. And their acceptance of parts of the professional rhetoric reinforces their support of public-oriented services.

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[1] For a discussion of the staff's criteria see the section below on the artists.

However, the most important aspect of the vague and general values and attitudes to which the complementary organization subscribes is the fact that such attitudes do not interfere or conflict with what the complementary organization accomplishes. The kinds of tasks the complementary organization pursues are easily fulfilled without the missionary ardor of the professional rhetoric. At the same time this absence of ardor is misread by the professional staff as disinterest in the arts and consequently as dangerous to the Museum. The complementary organization is less interested in the arts than is the professional staff, but their functions do not necessarily depend on a missionary zeal to be successful. In fact, it is my opinion that monies would not be successfully raised nor negotiations with the political power structure successfully concluded if the complementary organization approached such problems with the missionary zeal of some professionals. In this instance, too great a dedication to professional rhetoric is dysfunctional.

Furthermore, the less missionary zeal of the complementary organization tends to make the complementary organization supportive rather than critical of the Museum. The members of the Board and Guild are overwhelmingly satisfied with the Museum - all Board members and 92 per cent of the Guild report such satisfaction. The missionary zeal of the professional rhetoric makes for greater dissatisfaction with the Museum among the core organization members supporting such attitudes; if the complementary organization were equally rhetoric-ridden, conflict and dissatisfaction would be greater.

CHAPTER TEN THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Board of Directors of the Museum is a crucial segment of the organization. The formal powers granted to the Board are broad, its authority almost global. Such factors in themselves would account for the importance of the Board, but of even more importance is the lack of consensus in the concepts of the role and functions of the Board held by staff, Director and Board members themselves. In the analysis of the Board and its role in the Museum, all such factors must be taken into account. Consequently in this chapter I will assess two different aspects of the organization of the Board: 1) the criteria for membership on the Board and the role of the Board as defined by Board members; 2) the formal and informal structure and functions of the Board.

Membership Criteria and Role

Section III of the Bylaws of the Museum delineates the scope of the Board's authority and power: "...the entire management and administration of the Museum shall be vested in its Board of Directors composed of forty-two persons." Fifty years ago, when the Museum was established, this "management and administration" was vested in twenty-one members, all of whom were appointed for life. In 1936, when the Bylaws were revised, appointments to the Board were limited to three years, the number of members increased to the present size, and the officers and committee chairmen were limited to a one-year tenure; however, the Bylaws are so qualified that in effect the Board continues as a select, self-perpetuating group. Thus, members may be re-elected to the Board after an interval of one year, and appointments may be extended owing to certain contingencies. Consequently, and contrary to the intention of broadening the social base of the Board, each year in the past ten years only two or three members have been chosen who have never before served on the Board, while an average of four appointments have been made per year from those who had served at an earlier date. And at the present time there are still three of the original life-time members serving on the Board, although life-time memberships were abolished in 1936.

The Board of Directors is a far more homogeneous group than either the Women's Guild or the general membership - its members are consistently of higher social status, with greater incomes and more prestigious occupations, of longer residence in the City, and with memberships in the most exclusive social clubs. Furthermore the Board's membership is predominantly masculine: over the last ten years, on the average, only thirteen of its members have been women - about 30 per cent.

However, the caution against considering the group a self-consciously unified elite holds here as well as for the Women's Guild. While 80 per cent of the members had close fiends who were also Board members, usually the friendship pattern was limited to one or two others and not whole cliques. In fact, larger social units than triads were absent; thus the social interaction at Board meetings, or on those social occasions when many of the Board members might be present, was fragmented and uncoordinated. For instance, at Board meetings after the formalitites of greeting had been attended to, members often seemed unable to find anything else to talk about; there seemed always to be one or two present who never spoke to any of the others; and often both men and women acted with a kind of forced and artificial sociability until the presence of the Director[1] focused the activity. There was never the relaxed informal atmosphere one would have associated with a group or clique of fast friends - group solidarity in this sense was absent.[2]

On the whole, the social status of the Museum's Board of Directors is less exalted than that of manyother boards in the City. The Trustees of the University and of the Arts and Crafts School, the boards of the major hospitals, social service agencies, historical preservation societies and City planning services, as well as the executive positions of the major business and professional organizations in the City rank higher in prestige than does the Museum Board. It was generally conceded in the interviews that the Museum Board was a high step on the social ladder but not of "top rung" standing and that many persons use the Board in just this manner - as a way to the top - and consequently abandon it when higher-status board or trustee positions are offered to them. In part this reflects the pedestrian utilitarianism (the more critical label it Philistinism) of a city which is still irresolute in its commitment to and support of the arts.

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[1] It should be noted here that the Bylaws do not specifically bestow on the Director an ex officio position on the Board of Directors, to say nothing of a formal position. He is also not named as an ex officio member of the Executive Committee, although he is so named for the Art, Finance, Membership (of the Board) and Library Committees.

[2] The reasons for this, I think, lie in the size and social structure of the community: there are too many individuals or families who would be placed in the highest SES positions (using either Warner's or Hollingshead's classification) to make a single, solidary friendship group possible. Therefore, numberless cliques and friendship groups exist with both differing and overlapping memberships possible to any one individual or family unit. The occupational pull to the City is continually extending for the highest occupational positions, insuring increasing size for this upper social class.

In a city that is burgeoning with talent in musical, graphic and plastic arts, neither the symphony orchestra nor the Museum receives any support from local or county government despite the fact that both serve a multi-county area; corporate support, despite the fact that the City is the headquarters for some of the wealthiest and most famous of the skilled-industry corporations, is usually less than one-quarter of the funds raised by private, individual donors. This, of course, does not inhibit the industries' and the governments' use of such attractions as an active orchestra and museum in their recruiting endeavors and pamphlets When local businesses and industries do attempt to "support the arts", the consequent gaucheries are lampooned by the local artists and sturdily ignored by the offended Museum staff members. It is seen as "good business" to have a side-walk art show in the center of the City - but the artists are expected to remove themselves and their wares during "rush hours". Furthermore, it was seen as good "public relations" to have the Mayor of the City act as the judge of the first of these shows and award the prizes.[1] Since most of the artists who had been invited to show responded to this suggestion as if it were a joke, the businessmen withdrew the scheme.

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[1] During the period in which I was observing Museum activities, one exhibition brought UN officials and several Consuls General to the City for the opening. It was universally commented upon by staff members

Given this general environment for the fine arts in the City, recruitment to the Museum Board is probably limited to the less talented and the less active members of the upper social strata. When people of extremely high social status are recruited to the Board, they are usually inactive, allowing their names to be used for the general ambiance of the Museum.[1]

When asked to rank a number of criteria for membership on the Board, members felt that "willingness to work for the Museum" and a "deep feeling for the arts" were the first and second most important criteria for membership on the Board of Directors. Third in rank was "ability to raise money". Following these in rank order come:

Fourth - Knowing a lot of people
Fifth - Knowing a lot about art
Sixth - Being wealthy
Seventh - Both: Being socially prominent and having a collection

It is most interesting that two of the three lowest-ranked criteria - being wealthy and socially prominent - charaterizes all of the members of the Board in a way and to a degree that none of the other criteria do, while characteristics which are lacking or unimportant for most members are selected by them to explain their recruitment to the Board.

An observer is struck by the general malaise and "rubber-stamp"

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that this was the first time in their memories that any City Mayor had honored the Museum with a visit.

[1] For instance, the leading executives of several internationally famous corporations with Rochester home offices were members of the Board. In two cases, the Director had not even met these men.

quality of the Board's meetings and activities. The contrast between the Board and the Women's Guild is vividly apparent - the hustle and bustle of the women's activities has more to do with the greater dedication of the women of the Guild (the broader base of its recruitment contributes to the selection of more active members) than with any "fill-time" or frivolous behavior on the part of women. The Director has noticed the difference in the dedication of the Guild members when compared to the Board members - their greater activity, their greater willingness to "fight" when necessary for the Museum. He has commented that if the Board could get rid of the "dead wood" - those elected primarily because of social position or social ambition - and elect instead those who would be dedicated, willing to work, and basically interested in art, especially those from the General Membership who would qualify on such grounds, then the Board would be an active, supporting organization rather than a passive, sometimes recalcitrant, and not willingly educated part of the total organization of the Museum.

With the exception of the officers in both the Guild and the Board, the average number of hours per week spent by a Women's Guild member on Museum activities is 5; for the Board of Directors the average number of hours per week is closer to $4\frac{1}{2}$[1], although several of the Board members

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1. From my observation this figure seems high. One possible explanation is that those who answered the questionnaire were the more active members of the Board, thus skewing the distribution. My own impression and that of many of the staff is that most of the members of the Board are quite inactive, even to the point of absenting themselves from the annual Board meeting. My inclination regarding these figures and those in the following paragraphs is to grant the women in the sample greater candor than the --

but none of the Women's Guild members reported that they spent *no* time on Museum work. Both the Guild and the Board members reported spending considerable time on other non-leisure organizational activities. The men of the Board, in particular, spent considerably more time on other organizations than did the women of the Board and Guild. Twenty-five per cent of the men of the Board recorded eleven hours or more in the activites of other organizations. None of the men of the Board spent no time in other organizations. In the Women's Guild only 8 per cent of the members reported spending eleven hours or more in such activities, while 8 per cent also indicated that they spent no time in other organizational activities.[1] This evidence and that gained by field observation and interviewing both suggest that for men of the Board the Museum is of far less importance than other business, professional and service organizations. Even the President of the Board insisted that he spent not more than five hours a week in Museum activities; and when I expressed surprise over what I considered a small amount of time, he retorted that as far as he knew no President had had to spend more time

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men - a conclusion which surprises me since I had assumed (a prejudice no doubt derived from mass culture theory) that the women in our society would be more 'culture-conscious" (in the terms of mass culture theory), less willing to admit "impure"motivations concerning the arts and more willing to exaggerate their activities and attachment. Quite to the contrary, field observation verified their greater honesty and candor.

[1] Among the members of the Board: 35 per cent spent five hours or less
25 per cent spent 6 to 10 hours
Among members of the Women's Guild: 48 per cent spent up to five hours
36 per cent spent 6 to 10 hours

than that.[1]

Those who are recruited show considerable ambivalence when "pushing" the Museum in public, and particular care is taken not to tread on the toes of organizations whose interests are considered more important than the Museum's. For instance, a President of the Museum Board at the time of a major fund drive for the renovation and expansion of the Museum building was quoted in one of the City newspapers as follows:

> "Although we feel that the City needs to expand its cultural institutions, we want to be very sure not to interfere with the hospital drive .... That must come first.

While asserting that a "deep feeling for the arts" is second in rank as a criterion for membership on the Board, members also give evidence that would indicate the contrary - a general disinterest in the arts is widespread among Board members. Board members are split between those who give art a relatively high place among their life values and those who give it a lower rank. Thus 50 per cent of the Board members give art first or second rank in their system of values. Fifteen per cent give art the lowest ranking - and the importance of this group is that it is all women! I am forced by field-observation data to conclude that the men of the Board are not being as candid about their attitudes as the women. Among Board members there is general agreement that it would be hard to imagine a world without art (70 per cent agree), yet only 45 per cent feel that art is a necessity of life. In general there is ambivalence rather than consensus among Board members about the importance and value of art.

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[1] On the other hand, the Director insisted that the President spent considerably more time than this, especially when telephone consultations were taken into account. Since both of the Presidents that I observed were very active in civic organizations, it might be that in comparison the Museum did take less of their time than some of their other organizational commitments and hence that Museum time was underestimated by the

Behavioral indicators suggest that art is a less important interest for Board than for Guild members. The visiting patterns of the Board members to the outstanding Museum of Photography and the most important Galleries of the City contrast sharply with those of the Women's Guild members:

TABLE XVIII PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VISITS TO MUSEUM OF PHOTOGRAPHY AND GALLERIES BY BOARD AND GUILD MEMBERS

		Frequent	Rare (or never)
Museum	Board	85	15
	Guild	88	12
Gallery 1	Board	50	50
	Guild	76	24
Gallery 2	Board	55	45
	Guild	84	16
Gallery 3	Board	60	40
	Guild	76	24

Since I am assuming that the most active supporters of the Museum cooperated, and since field observation of the Board members suggested, on the whole, no great interest in the arts, I find the percentages for the Board, and to a lesser extent those for the Guild, inflated. The Directors of the above Museum and Galleries concur in this: both the

Guild and the Board have a small core of active and intensely interested members who are familiar visitors to these organizations, while it is readily noticed by these Directors that the majority of the Board and Guild rarely "darken their doors".

The same aggrandisement is visible in the Board members' reporting of their participation in Museum affairs. An overwhelming proportion of both the Board and Guild members report regular attendance at openings (90% to 96% respectively). To the staff members this was an exaggeration while accepting the fact that Board and Guild members were more likely to attend Openings, the staff refused to admit that such a large proportion regularly attended such affairs. My own observation also confirmed this. There were always representatives of both groups at these Openings, but not 90 per cent of either group. Informal counts also indicate that the Board members, especially, have over-estimated their attendance at the following Museum events:

TABLE XIX PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ATTENDANCE AT MUSEUM EVENTS

	Board		Guild	
Events	Regular or Frequent	Rare (or never)	Regular or Frequent	Rare (or never)
History and Appreciation classes	30	70	36	64
Lectures	75[1]	25	72	28
Sunday Demonstrations	30	70	8	92

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[1] This figure seems impossible since the membership of the Board is predominantly men who are working and the lectures are given in the --

This evidence supports the statement of the women who organized the history and appreciation classes as a Guild activity that if support of lecture series depended on the Women's Guild it would not survive. It is also interesting to note that in the past five years 96 per cent of the Guild members report taking art classes offered by the Museum while none of the Board members participated in such classes.

Another check on consistency in evaluating the degree of involvement and interest in the arts by the members of the Board and the Guild indicates that both the assignment of art in their scale of valu and the criterion of "deep interest in the arts" for membership in the Board is exaggerated. When they were asked to rate their interest in various art forms, the following patterns emerged:

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afternoons with a predominantly female audience. Informal counts of the audience averaged a total of 100 persons of which only 15% were men. These audiences were also older than were those in the History and Appreciation classes.

TABLE XX

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INTEREST IN ART FORMS

Art Forms		Very Interested	Moderately Interested	Not Interested	Don't Know
Plastic & Graphic Arts	Board	35	15	30	20
	Guild	32	32	16	20
Crafts	Board	35	30	20	15
	Guild	44	40	12	4
Music	Board	60	30	--	10
	Guild	36	56	8	--
Drama	Board	35	45	10	10
	Guild	68	24	4	4
Dance	Board	20	25	40	10
	Guild	44	36	12	8
Literature	Board	45	45	--	5
	Guild	80	20	--	--

Both music and literature elicit more interest by Board members than do plastic and graphic arts and crafts, while 30 per cent of the Board maintains that it has no interest in the plastic and graphic arts. The Guild members indicate greater interest in dance, literature, crafts, and drama than they do in the graphic and plastic arts. On the whole, both the Board and the Guild members show greater interest in all of the other art forms than in those specifically associated with the Museum - the plastic and graphic arts and crafts.

Such evidence does not justify the Board members' assessment that "a deep interest in the arts" is the second most important criterion for membership on the Board, nor does it bear out the claim of 50 per cent of the Board members that art has the highest place in their system of values.

The third criterion for membership on the Board - the ability to raise money - is also open to serious question. The hesitancy of Board members to push the Museum in the face of other organizations competing for funds and volunteers has already been noted. And while Board members are recruited by the membership department and through pressure put upon them by the Director to participate in the corporation fund-raising campaign, very few Board members cooperate in the general membership campaign. Guild members are by far the most active of the complementary organization members in the membership campaigns. At the same time there is a regular Museum policy to suggest the election of the general manager of the membership campaign to the Board of Directors; the Board accepts this nomination, in part, I am sure, because the members do feel guilty about notfilling one of their most important roles.

It has already been noted previously that the membership department feels dissatisfied with the success of the corporation-fund campaign. Of a total budget of $306,000, the corporation fund contributed $32,000 while the general membership contributed $150,000. The contributions of both the corporations and the Board of Directors are considered gifts rather than being counted as a dependable yearly contribution. The Board's gift averaged $17,000 - although a major part of this amount was contributed by one member. If the Board's contribution is averaged without the gift of this particular donor, the amount is $175 per Board member. The distribution is as follows:

TABLE XXI BOARD GIFTS

Number	Amount
14	up to and including $99
13	$100 - 125
5	126 - 200
9	201 and above

From the general membership there are also a group of special contribut whose average contribution is $250. These are the Museum patrons from whose ranks many of the Board members are drawn.

Generally speaking, neither the amount of the contributions made by the Board nor their participation in the campaign drives vindicates their claim that the ability to raise money is the third most important criterion for membership on the Board. From time to time, in unusual circumstances, more pressure is put on the Board to act as a fund-raiser - in the collection of monies for a building project, for example. At such times not only the contributions requested of the Board members but also the demands on their time and participation are greater; these pressures are usually acceded to by the members. The general remissness, I think, is accounted for by the less than whole-hearted dedication to the "cause" of the Museum and an unwillingness to push acquaintences in the business world into large-scale contributions for a cause not wholly validated by the Board members themselves.

One final characteristic of the Board needs to be demonstrated before we go on to an analysis of the Board's functions and the interplay between structure, function and attitudes. It is worthy of note that few Board members have had any career association with the arts during their lives. One member is drawn from the University art department and another is, in fact, a craftsman, having given up a medical career to pursue his more consuming interests. This appointment is, however, independent of his being a craftsman - he is the scion of the family who founded the Museum over fifty years ago; and it has long been the practice, fully supported by the intrinsic organization, to have this family represented on the Museum Board. He would have been elected whether or not he had become a craftsman. Therefore the overwhelming proportion of the Board members have no professional knowledge of the arts and crafts.

Of the forty-two members, no more than five could qualify as having anything beyond a superficial understanding of or insight into the practice of the fine arts. Furthermore, it was patently obvious that few Board members had more than a shallow conception of the Museum's professional role and the necessary professional expertise needed to maintain a high quality program and collection. Yet 65 per cent of the members felt that the Board should be primarily responsible to the "standards and values of the arts" in making Museum policy; 80 per cent felt that showing local artists was an important Museum service to the community; 85 per cent maintained that educating the public was one of the most important functions of the Museum; and 95 per cent agreed that "maintaining the standards and excellence of the arts" was a primary duty the Museum. A primary part of the organization of the arts is therefore formally in the hands of individuals who, while insisting on the need for maintaining standards of excellence, supporting local artists, educating the public, are nevertheless inadequately prepared to assess quality of performance.

The Director, while admitting that artists as Board members are often difficult to handle, still feels that a museum ought in some way to represent the artists from the local community or area. He has toyed with the idea of a revolving membership whereby an artist would be selected by the various art clubs to sit on the Board for a period of time - the selection by the art clubs reducing the claim of favoritism by the Museum. In any case, the Director is pointedly aware that the lack of representation on the Board is a specific problem, that much hostility from the artists could be avoided by such co-optation, and that the Museum could then be of some specific value to the art community despite the numerous factions within that community.

Board members agree that policy-setting, fund-raising, public relations, and hiring and evaluating the performance of the Director are the basic responsiblities of their role, although much confusion and ambivalence are evident concerning such responsibilities. While all agree that policy-setting is the most important role, few are able or willing to judge which issues are important for policy consideration for the Museum. There is a general feeling that the real issues are neither faced nor understood. Consequently those issues which were confronting the Board at the time of the study were most often listed as the most important policies to consider: the issue of a large building program, the attempt to get better and more serious coverage in the news media, an improvement in the public image of the Museum. None mentioned evaluation of the collections, expanding the exhibition program, increasing the number of professional positions, studying the allocation of prioritie in Museum services. In contrast to the Board, the staff found these latter issues to be of prime importance for the performance of the Museum. Consequently there is a vast difference between the Board's and the staff's conceptions of what are policy issues and which issues are most important. In my judgment, the most serious issues are not discussed by the Board because the Board members are ignorant of such issues - not intentionally or inevitably ignorant of the issues but uninformed about their importance. The staff does not communicate its dissatisfaction about the ambiguousness of basic policies to the Director, nor does the staff desire the Board's cooperation in such discussions. The Director hesitates to confront the Board with some of the basic policy issues because he knows the members are generally uninformed and fears the kinds of decisions they would make in their ignorance. And both staff and Director tend to view Board cooperation in the discussion of policy issues an affront to their professional status; consequently the Board's confrontation of such issues is minimal. What never seems to occur as an alternative, despite the existence of a precedent in the attitudes of some already educated Board members, is that the Board could be educated on the professional implications of important policy issues and that the staff and the Director could be a readily available source of such education. An important bridge between the core and the complementary organization is, thus, lacking. The Board (75 per cent) tacitly acknowledges the limits of its abilities to judge in professional matters by asserting that assistant directors and professional staff members should sometimes be included in the decision-making process.

The public-relations role of the Board is significant, according to members, for both the fund-raising potential of the Museum and for its public service functions. The improvement of the public image of and arousing general interest in the Museum are seen as the ways in which this responsibility is discharged. The means of implementing this responsibility are the proper use of the mass media (supporting and advising the public relations department of the Museum) and adding the luster of their names to membership campaigns (in general supporting the activities of the membership department and cheering the accomplishment of the Guild in fund-raising).

In general the legwork associated with fund-raising is rejected by the Board. Instead, fund-raising activities center on the use of the prestige and social power of the members to enroll local and state funds for the Museum, to increase the endowment of the Museum, to encourage corporate funding of the Museum. Again, specific policies and plans for implementing such a role are lacking, nor are such implementations discussed except when a particular money problem arises.

Most Board members agree that in evaluating the performance of the Director they must rely on the public and social success of the Museum as the criterion. The extent of public services rendered by the Museum, the numbers who visit the exhibitions, the increase in the membership of the Museum, the financial resources attracted are all, therefore, seen as indicators of the Director's success. The Board's attitudes about the role of the Museum are consonant with such an evaluation of the Director's performance. The Museum's responsibilities, in this view, are both social and professional. There are social responsibilities which must be met by the Museum - these, include social obligations to the membership for their support, to the community as a symbol of community cultural resources, to the business world as a resource in recruiting. The literal representation of such symbolic responsibilities is the elegance and beauty of the Museum and its environment, the use of the Museum for special state occasions, the importance of the exhibitions as a cultural attraction, the complementary organization as a reward for outstanding men and women of the community, and the special events which serve as social rewards for the upper-middle and upper classes who support the Museum financially.

Professional responsibilities, are, by and large, the visible professional obligations also recognized by the professional staff: adequate exhibitions and extended educational services. The quality of the performance of both social and professional obligations is the Director's responsibility. Measurement of the Museum's success in discharging such responsibilities relies on visible and rather obvious criteria. For the Board, numerical tests are sufficient. The continuous increase in the number of visitors, the size of the membership, the amount of contributions, and the number of services and social obligations would gainsay any opposition to the Director except in unusual circumstances.

Such, then, are the responsibilities of the Board as viewed by the members. As such they are in considerable disagreement with the formal rules governing the Board's role.

The Formal and Informal Structure of the Board

With regard to the formal definition of the Board's authority and power as quoted earlier, certain questions must be asked: Does the formal statement of the Board's power coincide with the reality of the Board's activities? What effect does the social composition of the Board have on its authority and practice?

Such social traits as noted above characterize the composition of the Board of Directors - that part of the total formal organization in which "...the entire management and administration of the Museum [is] vested...." The Bylaws specify the responsibilities and duties of the Board as follows:

> The Board of Directors shall have the custody, control and direction of the Museum, its pictures, works of art, collections and other contents..., and said Board of Directors may acquire, by use of monies which may be at its disposal, by acceptance of gifts, or otherwise, such pictures, works of art and collections as it may deem proper. The Board of Directors, or a committee duly authorized to act in its behalf, shall have the sole right to accept or reject gifts.
>
> The Board of Directors shall assume the responsibility of raising and providing the monies necessary for the current expenses of the Museum, for the carrying on of its work and for the acquisition of additions to its contents, and shall be vested with the authority necessary to that end.
>
> The Board of Directors shall have the sole right to determine the uses to which the Museum and its contents shall be put, and the right of access and use by the public.

The formally defined activities of the Board cover administrative, professional, custodial, client and financial responsibilities, thereby making the area of authority and power, in the 1936 Bylaws, global in character. The Board is the formal source of power (the ability to influence others in accord with its own goals and norms) and authority (the accedence by the members of the total organization and its associated publics to the legitimacy of such power). In the case of the Museum the authority of the Board is established by fiat through the legal process by which the organization assumes its right to exist as a legitimate entity. While this grants legitimacy to the organization, and while the intention is also to confer upon the Board of Directors a legitimate authority, in fact only a nominal authority is accepted by most of the members of the intrinsic organization and the publics for the Board of Directors. This de jure but not de facto authority represents the dénouement of the historical development of the Museum from non-professional to professional status.

The members of a Board of Directors, to be proficient in discharging the responsibilities listed in the Bylaws, would have to command an education in the professional expertise of Museology, to expend large amounts of time in museum affairs and duties, to have an extensive knowledge of the fine arts. In addition to such responsibilities, an enormous amount of time would have to be spent by the Board members in the simple surveillance of Museum affairs and activities, thereby denying to the individual departments any autonomy. In effect, also, such a statement of duties and responsibilities effectively negates the role of a Director - of what use is he when the area of Board control and authority is so global?

Such an assertion of the authority, duties and responsibilities of a board was by no means unusual at the time the Museum's Bylaws were formulated (1936) - most museums in the United States, at that time, would have had similar regulations and would have expressed like attitudes concerning the relation of board to staff and director. While such a global assessment of the Board's role was common among board members, there was a quite different consensus about its role among the already flourishing professional museum organizations. As early as 1925 the American Association of Museums published a code of ethics in which the relations of the director to his board were discussed. The differences between the Museum Bylaws of 1936 and this early professional statement are illuminating.

RELATIONS OF THE DIRECTOR TO THE TRUSTEES

Responsibility

> A museum director is responsible to his trustees for the treasures within the museum, the character of the service it renders, and the expenditure of the funds it receives. He should, therefore, expect and the trustee should grant a wide range of freedom in carrying on the work of the museum. He, in return, should make a strict accounting to the trustees at frequent intervals of the condition and activities of the museum, should make no large expenditure of funds without their approval, and should obtain their sanction to all change in policy. He should neither expect nor ask an action from his trustees until he is sure that they thoroughly understand the matter which they are asked to consider, and if the action is contrary to his wishes, he should patiently wait until conditions have changed before presenting the matter again. The trustees should be sharers with the director of his responsibilities and should earnestly endeavor to so acquaint themselves with museum matters that they may fully bear their part of the burden.

> **Authority**
>
> With large responsibility goes large authority. The museum director has always before him the danger that he will abuse the authority vested in him unless he temper it with wisdom, justice and sympathy. While on the one hand the trustees should trust to the judgment of the director and give sympathetic consideration to his recommendations, the director must so act as to inspire the confidence of his trustees.
>
> An indiscreet trustee may unconsciously wreck the whole morale of the museum organization through casual conversation with curators or other workers of the museum. It is incumbent on the trustee, therefore, to be discreet in his relationships with staff members, avoiding topics which may be concerned with administrative and executive matters.[1]

The central issue at stake here is the freedom of the director to carry on his professional work unhampered by the intervention of the trustees or board unless his activities specifically threaten the formal purposes of the Museum. Two concerns are implicit in this early statement: 1) that the work of a director is "professional" - demands special training and expertise - and that therefore he should be granted the same freedom from control and autonomy to practice this expertise as is enjoyed in other professional occupations, and 2) that a division of labor should be maintained between the director and his board based on the sharing of policy-making functions but the limiting of administrative and professional practices to the director, who in turn is bound by his professional honor (and the process of socialization within his profession) to act with the highest integrity in the affairs of his museum.

In this statement the Museum Association is pointedly sensitive to certain abuses widespread in the administration of museums, in some cases even up to the present time - the collusion of dealers, directors and collectors to rig the sales-market for art; favoritism shown certain trustees and their collections in order to gain financial rewards; the personal speculation of directors in the art market for personal gain; the use of a director's position to influence the art market for personal gain. Such unethical practices were by no means unusual during the first quarter of the twentieth century. At the same time, one of the prime motivations of the Museum Association in formulating a code of ethics was their disapproval of the notorious "unethical" attitudes and actions of trustees and boards: the use of their social power to enforce museum policies contrary to professional standards, the use of their financial power to blackmail directors into purchases, the acceptance of monies with too many strings attached, the covert undermining of staff morale, the attempts to foist onto museums shoddy works of art or outright forgeries.

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[1] American Association of Museums, Code of Ethics for Museum Workers (New York, American Association of Museums, 1925), p.6

Over time the exploits of the directors of museums have moved from the more serious delicts to mere peccadillos in large measure because of the force of the Museum Association in penalizing its deviant members. No such governing body with power to enforce its rules exists for the trustees, however. Partly because of constant changes in personnel, no continuing organization of Museum trustees has developed to consolidate the interests of and to formulate a code of ethics for trustees. Therefore even at the present time hardly an issue of Art News, Museum News, or Art in America, comes off the press without some current irregularity in trustee-museum relations being disclosed. Within the last three years the M.H. De Young Memorial Museum of San Francisco, the Los Angeles County Museum (just after the opening of its magnificent new building), the Barnes Foundation of Philadelphia, and the policies of both the Metropolitan Museum and the Museum of Modern Art in New York have all been headline news because of director-trustee problems - and this is to mention only the most well known examples.

It is only with the passage of time that the two concerns - that of professional expertise and autonomy, and the division of labor between policy formation and practice - become explicitly formulated in the discussions and statements of the Museum Association. As yet the professional staff members of the museums are far more sophisticated in their analysis and awareness of the problems than are the boards or trustees. Consequently directors feel that one of the most demanding matters at hand is the education of their boards to an understanding that the primary function of a board is policy-making rather than day-to-day administration.

The practical results of such problems in the operation of the Museum tend to suppress the Board's concern and active interference in day-to-day activities but to leave it singularly incapable of establishing what its formal role should be. The members of the Board do not have the time or the interest to persist in the surveillance of daily activities. Furthermore, given the standards and expectations of the current professional staff members, the legitimacy of the Board would not be granted in this surveillance nor would such interference be tolerated by the staff. The staff is only too well aware of the fact that in dealing with Board members they are dealing with persons whose source of power is social or financial and not professional. When it comes to their professional practices, the staff recognizes the legitimacy only of professional power.

The Board member is inhibited from learning about Museum practices and policies at the operational level because of the resentment of the professional staff at such "intrusions". There are also other factors restraining the degree of competence the Board member can gain in Museum affairs - factors which operate at the level of selection to the Board. Board members are generally limited in their interests in art and commited to many other organizations considered more important to them. There is, consequently, a lack of time for either the stimulation of interest in art or the activities in which a truly committed Board member might engage. Board members participate more readily in the social activities of the Museum than in those which are basically art-oriented.

Furthermore, the formal and informal structure of the Board tends to obstruct the education and the participation of the members.

The formal organization of the Board has established a number of committees, some of which were formed at the inception of the Museum fifty years ago - the executive, finance, membership, art, nominating, and library committees - and others of which have been added ad hoc as they were needed - such as the new building committee, to be dissolved when it is no longer necessary; still other committees have been added as permanent standing committees within the last ten years - the public relations, building and grounds, membership, prints and drawings, and art lending library committees.

Many of these committees are almost totally inactive. For instance, the Library Committee's sole responsibility per annum is the reporting at the annual meeting of the use of the library and the number of books, periodicals, et., purchased during the year. The librarian, along with the staff members, selects the books and periodicals for purchase, sees to their cataloguing with the aid of the University Library system, is responsible for their use - which is limited to staff members only - and for their replacement and return. Ultimately the librarian also becomes responsible for the annual report, which the chairman of the Library Committee, with tones of successful and resourceful achievement, reads at the annual meeting. It was well known that the committee members were never seen except at the time of the annual report. The Art Committee meets when and if there are decisions to be made concerning the purchase or the bidding on works of art, or when gifts are to be accepted or rejected. For the most part the committee is convened by the Director or the Assistant Director in charge of collections and exhibitions because certain works of art are available and are being recommended by the professional staff for purchase. Usually the Art Committee concurs in such purchases; however, there have been pitched battles over some of the recommendations by the Director and his professional staff - battles which the professional staff has lost. The memory of some of these disagreements is still poignant for some of the staff - especially when recommendations were made at a time when prices were low and now the same purchase would require twice or three times the original price.

At the same time, the Art Lending Library Committee, because it has been chaired by an active organizer, who has visited, at his own expense other museums' art lending libraries for ideas, has designed a practical, self-supporting, volunteer-serviced program for the Museum. The Public-Relations Committee, the latest to be added to the roster, has been more satisfied to pat itself on the back than to enlarge the scope and the quality of coverage in the newspapers, national presses and professional journals, or to attempt to establish better relations with the numerous public and civic bodies in the area. The difference between the activities of these last two committees lies partly in the structure of the Museum: while a full-time staff member is in charge of public relations within the intrinsic organization of the Museum, the art lending library was essentially the step-child of the library department - not even a part-time core organization position was established for the constant attention demanded by the care, maintenance, bookkeeping and record-keeping of this busy segment of the Museum. Therefore, while the Public Relations Committee of the Board becomes, for the most part, a rubber-stamp operation for the Public Relations Department of the Museum and its efficient manager, there was a possibility for individual initiative and imagination in the organization of the art lending facilities.

This "rubber-stamp" quality was noticeable in all of the annual meetings of the Board which I attended; each committee presented its report, there was little or no discussion, and each report was accepted by unanimous vote. Whatever discussion there had been over the contents of the reports - and for most there had been none - had occurred in such areas as finances and budgeting when the Finance and Executive Committees had met with the Director to hammer out the next year's budget. However, even here, the recommendations of the Director were by and large accepted. Occasionally the Board committees would feel that the annual membership drive was too high or too low, and some changes were made accordingly. Consequently some of the Board members were notorious for their absence at the annual meeting although they usually attended the meetings of their respective committees. The one most striking lacuna — in the general Board meetings was the absence of anything approaching a discussion of policy. It almost appeared that policy discussions were "tabu" because they would take too much time, were of too little interest or of too much academic concern for most of the members, or simply because the Board did not know a "policy" from a "practice" when it confronted them.

The overwhelming concerns of the Board seemed to be whether or not activities could be "afforded" - regardless of their inherent interest or necessity - whether the "public image" of the Museum was endangered by activities or could be improved in various ways, or whether the Museum could "be kept more in the public eye". The Board was extremely sensitive to any adverse criticism of the Museum voiced either publicly through the press or privately to the individual Board members. And there was an almost reflex action by the Board - and often the Director, when confronted with a skittish Board - to ban the offending project or to alter it drastically to accommodate the critics in the future. It would usually take some time before a Board member would suggest that they were perhaps overlooking the fact that while they heard negative opinions they were less likely to hear the positive ones - that perhaps things were not so black after all. Seventy per cent of the Board members reported that they rarely heard any criticisms of the Museum (the press excepted), and 90 per cent of the general membership had rarely or never heard any criticisms; however, one would never have guessed this from the skittish attitudes toward public opinion displayed at Board meetings.[1]

Formal arrangements tend to foster rather than counter the inactivity and the lack of interest of the Board members. Rare and poorly attended[2] Board meetings, infrequent committee meetings, and, in general, few real responsibilities weaken the attachment to the Museum.

The informal structure of the Board also fosters the lack of participation and lack of commitment of many members. With most Board members characterized by a relatively low level of interest and participation, which is well known to the Director, a flexible arrangement between the Director and certain key members of the Board has developed. Certain members are selected for membership in the informal group because of their positions of authority within the Board - the president, the treasurer, chairmen of important committees; others are selected because of their knowledge of art and appreciation of the professional problems and point of view. Those selected form a core of highly active and knowledgeable persons. Together with the Director, and at his behest, these members caucus together or communicate by telephone. It is within the context of these informal caucuses and telephone calls that much of the policy and problem-solving of the Museum are hammered out. Much of the decision making takes place within this informal context; and the education of these Board members in matters of professional outlook is swift and thorough. At the same time, policies and arguments concerning them are fragmented; long-range planning and evaluation is imposiible; and the decision-makers are unrepresentative of the total organization of the Museum, despite the fact that a working unit, helpful to the Director, is engendered.

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[1] The press, in its unflagging and uncritical devotion to its own definition of "good copy", is seriously implicated in the development of such organizational "paranoia". Such reportage is rarely innocent of a certain degree of malice.

[2] The Director reported that twenty-five members at a Board meeting was considered a very good turn-out. Annual meetings usually called forth 25 to 30 members - and led the staff to scoff at the type of Board member who only appeared at the annual meetings.

The success of this informal organization in meeting sudden crises is notable. If the City decides that the attractive land surrounding the Museum would make a good children's park and sets the machinery going to this end, the Director hears about the move through the informal channel of his Board members' activities, holds a caucus with officers and members of the Board who can pressure the City into a decision change. Ultimately the City announces a reversal of its decision - the whole process is carried out quietly, without public notice and undue pressure on City officials so as not to generate animosity between the Museum and the City. But the Museum succeeds in making its point stick.

Or again, if the University decides to remove the Museum from its present setting and establish it again on the campus, although the location is not easily accessible for the greatest civic use, the Director has only to call upon those Board members close to the administration of the University to get a reconsideration of this decision and a re-affirmation of the basically civic nature of the Museum.

Or Board members who are close to local and county government officials reinforce the Museum's request for city and county funds by personal contacts and pressures. Pivotal Board members act, in these instances, like ombudsmen, protecting, fighting for, pushing the interests and case of the Museum before public and private interests with considerable power in the City. They are successful because their particular expertise and power lies in the same areas as the requests that are made for their services. Without a doubt, this is a supremely important responsibility for the Board and an expertise the Museum could ill afford to lose. Yet these very same responsibilities are not part of the formal organization of the Board, nor is the full potential of their usage exploited. Occasionally a conflict of interest occurs - for instance, when a major official of the newspapers is a Board member, little tolerance is shown on the part of the official for the Museum's criticism of newspaper reviews or the type of news that is pursued by the newspapers for coverage, while for its part the Museum tends to "soft-pedal" the real acrimony of its criticism of the press.

While such an informal clique assures support for the Museum at one level, at the broader Board-inclusive level support is probably lost as other Board members conclude that their activities are unnecessary. At the same time, informal caucus is probably adaptive for both the Board and the Director considering the attitude of most of the professional staff against cooperation with the Board. However, both the success of the informal organization and the attitudes of staff members about Board cooperation augment the policy problem by shriveling the possible organizational basis for such considerations. While short-term policies are decided operationally by the staff and by the informal caucus, long-term policy evaluation goes a-begging. While short-term policies are granted the concern of both professionals and civic leaders, and while decisions benefit from the capabilities of both groups, long-term policies are ignored.

Two alternatives seem possible, given the importance of some of the policy matters usually shelved by this configuration of attitudinal and organizational binds. Since members of the caucus groups often have more professional staff support than does the Board as a whole, the caucus group could be used to mediate between professionals and Board. Discussions could concentrate on policies and include both Board and staff representatives. Or, the Director could insist on the education of staff members toward a more tolerant and accepting attitude toward the Board and on the education of his Board in professional matters. This latter would, no doubt, necessitate a different kind of selection to the Board - selection of members with a greater interest in art and willingness to work for the Museum.

In general the informal clique within the Board pursues its informal responsibilities with success. The formal Board, in general, rejects the responsibilities assigned by the Bylaws as being too global in scope while other informal responsibilities are not assumed because of lack of time for Museum activities and lack of interest in art. While the Board is not perceptive about the different levels of professional work within the Museum and needs education to function well in areas concerning these, it is not completely lacking in attitudes with which the professional staff would agree. For instance, Board members consider that in their duties they are responsible to the Museum and to art before they are responsible to either the general membership or the public. While social obligations are viewed as important, public-oriented professional services are the heart of the Museum for Board members. While Board members give support to the professional rhetoric by viewing the extension of services as important, they do not support the rhetoric's view of the public-at-large as the main beneficiary of Museum service. While the Board is ignorant of the factions within the professional core organization, the core organization does not understand the Board's attitudes on many issues.

CHAPTER XI THE WOMEN'S GUILD

The purpose of formally organizing the active women of the Museum into a Women's Guild was two-fold: 1) to broaden the basis of recruitment into the active membership, and 2) to provide a consistently available group of volunteers for the Museum. The Bylaws designate the role of this group as follows:

ARTICLE XIII

Women's Guild

Section 1 - Purpose and Powers

There shall be a Women's Guild of the Museum, to advance the general interests of the Museum and to perform such services within the scope of the Museum's activities as may be appropriate.

The Women's Guild may adopt appropriate bylaws and other regulations for the conduct of its business, not inconsistent with these Bylaws; may elect or appoint its own officers and committees, prescribe their powers, duties and responsibilities; and may otherwise determine questions affecting the administration of its affairs.

The Women's Guild shall at all times operate under authority of the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee of the Museum, and its acts shall at all times be subject to the approval of the Board of Directors or Executive Committee. All policies to be maintained or followed by the Women's Guild, all bylaws or amendments thereto passed by the Women's Guild, and all major activities in which it may engage shall be subject to the approval of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee of the Museum.

Section 2 - Membership

The Women's Guild shall have sole authority to prescribe the basis upon which membership therein shall be determined, and may create different classes of membership in the Women's Guild if it so desires. It shall have authority to establish a scale of membership dues in the Women's Guild, which may vary by class of membership, provided that no membership dues which a majority of the whole Board of Directors shall determine to be inappropriate or unreasonable shall be charged.

In order to broaden the social basis of active membership and to provide for volunteer workers, a closed social group is created, with membership by invitation only, within the formal organization of the Museum. While one could easily dismiss the obvious conflict in such a practice as the usual "social elitism" of organizations like museums, such a dismissal would not only do a grave injustice to the composition and character of the Women's Guild but would also obscure the complexity of the organizational framework within the Guild, between the Guild and the Board of Directors, and between the Guild and the core organization of the Museum.

The data presented in the preceding section indicated that the Women's Guild was a far more heterogeneous group than the Board of Directors and more representative of the general membership than the Board. For instance, the Guild starts recruiting members within three years of their residence in the area, while the Board's recruitment starts after ten years of residence. This difference in style and in social characteristic seems indicative of the difference between the Guild and the Board. Recruits come to the Women's Guild, as will be shown, largely because of services already performed, whereas many persons are appointed to the Board of Directors in the pious hope that they will at least perform some service to the Museum in the future. This conclusion is based in part on the difference that strikes the observer of the meetings of the Board and the Guild and in part on the differences between the activities in which Board and Guild members take part. The "motility quotient" of the Women's Guild must be at least twice as high as that of the Directors. Whereas the members of the Board of Directors are visible only at rare meetings throughout the year and then, while visible, show remarkably little affect and, indeed, a general malaise, the members of the Women's Guild hold meetings which are much less "cut and dried"; members of the Women's Guild are visibly present about the Museum much of the time, not always to the gratification of the staff; their activities are "visible" even when they themselves are not present - for instance, the floral arrangements by the Floral Committee of the Guild transform the galleries on a grey winter's day, and the well-stocked art rental and sale collection for members attests to the work of the Art Rental Committee in seeking out not only local artists but loans from major New York galleries.

While the Women's Guild formally operates under the authority granted it by the Board of Directors, this authority is limited informally and is a mere technicality. The authority of the Board over the Guild's activities is limited informally by the fact that the Guild is a constantly performing unit, with a multiplicity of on-going activities; the surveillance of such a group by either the Board or the Director would be an impossibility. The Guild, therefore, acts with virtually complete autonomy and authority over its own direction and decisions.

The formal organization of the Guild consists of a Board of Directors (eleven), six of whom are the officers of the Guild and five of whom are the chairmen of the standing committees; the officers serve terms of two years, with no officer eligible for re-election to the same office for a period of one year after the full elected term of office. The non-officer members of the Guild's Board of Directors are appointed by the officers of the Guild for one-year terms only. While the Guild Board must have a minimum of five meetings a year, the Women's Guild itself must have a minimum of three, one of which is the annual meeting at which the officers are elected.

The Guild Board may determine the desirable maximum number of active members of the Guild. This prerogative has led to the practice of differentiating types of membership in the Guild in order to weed out the active from the inactive. A "Sustaining" membership category has been created for those women who do not wish to be active and are willing to contribute slightly higher annual dues. At the time of this study there were about one hundred "Active" members of the Guild; a quorum for the meetings consisted of twenty-five. Over time there has been a steady increase in the number of "Active" members elected to the Guild, in part because the activities of the Guild have increased. There is, however, considerable feeling among the Guild members that the organizational base should be broadened still more, that the "dead wood" should be removed, that the membership should be, generally, more open and democratic. (Twenty four per cent of the Guild membership responded in this vein to an open-ended question on the questionnaire concerning changes they would like to see in the Guild organization.)

Despite the fact that the Women's Guild is more open, that the membership is more heterogeneous than that of the Board of Directors and more similar to the general membership, members of the Guild itself, members of the staff, and 11 per cent of the general membership voiced a degree of dissatisfaction with the social composition of the Women's Guild. When Guild members were asked what criticisms they had heard about the Women's Guild, 8 per cent replied that the Guild is criticized as being - and in fact is - too "snobbish" or "cliquish"; 52% replied that they had heard such a criticism but felt that it was unjust on a variety of grounds. They rejoined that the public overlooked the fact that the Women's Guild was really a "working" organization, not just a social club; that they had never experienced the group as snobbish; and that since most of the members were apathetic, the leadership was from the most active members and that these then became labeled a "clique". Forty per cent of the membership indicated that they had never heard any criticism of the Women's Guild - from my point of view a rather ostrich-like stance, since in no time at all as an observer I was hearing pejorative comments about the Guild as well as very favorable judgments.

In part, the source of such criticisms of the Women's Guild lies in the extreme visibility of so many of its activities; and this visibility is, in turn, related to its organizational function within the core and complementary structure of the Museum. The formal purposes of the Guild as stated in its Bylaws are as follows:

1) Increase and make more vital and personal the Museum's relations within the community.
2) Support Museum projects.
3) Perform volunteer services needed by the Museum.
4) Assist the staff by sharing creative ideas and suggestions.

Growing out of the concerns expressed in the formal Bylaws and emerging from the money problem of the Museum, there are four areas of activity which the Guild has organized and claimed as its own. Following Parson's nomenclature,[1] I will designate these activities as instrumental, normative, social and expressive.

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[1] Talcott Parsons, "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to Theory of Organizations," Administrative Science Quarterly, 1 (June 1956), p. 69. See also, Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (New York: Free Press, 1961) pp. 91 ff.

1) Instrumental activities are those directly or indirectly associated with fund-raising, a necessary "input" into the Museum if it is to survive. Such projects include the annual membership drive, the concessions for the Outdoor Art Fair, the organization of tours, and planning special openings with admission charges.

The most important single activity that the Women's Guild now engages in is not even mentioned in the formal statement of goals and purposes - fund-raising. Much of the time, the organizational skills and imagination of the members are put to use in devising ways of raising funds, usually for the support of some particular project - $7,000 for the printing of the Museum Handbook; $2,000 yearly for summer scholarship funds for the creative workshop for children; money to allow shows of national importance to reach the City when the Museum budget cannot cover the complete cost; money to cover the cost of print-framing for hospitals, house-bound invalids, and penal institutions; money for the constant floral decoration of the Museum; money to support the art classes for the blind.

In order to raise such funds the Women's Guild has organized over the years a series of projects. Art tours both in this country and abroad, tours to historic scenes and reconstructions and major art museums have provided an increasing income for the Women's Guild, which the Guild then contributes to various Museum projects. Among other major money-making projects are the yearly food-concession booths organized and manned by Guild members or their teen-age children at the time of the Outdoor Art Fair, and the one or two yearly "gala" affairs - black-tie-and-champagne openings for members, with tickets usually selling for $15 a couple.

These projects and participation in the organization of the annual membership drive are considered by Guild members to be their most important activities, and certainly they account for most of the fund-raising done by the Guild. Over 40 per cent of the Guild's activity is concentrated in the annual membership campaign. The membership drive also serves the covert purpose of allowing Guild members to survey the performance of those who have volunteered from the general membership in order to consider their possible recruitment into the Guild. Of the total amount of time members reported spending on the various Guild activities, 63 per cent was devoted to fund-raising.

2) Normative or professional activities are those projects devoted to implementing the professional Museum goals: helping with school projects; setting up, in conjunction with the Education Department, a series of advanced lectures on art with outstanding outside lecturers (which, incidentally, according to the Guild member who is in charge of this activity /and is professionally involved in the art field/, would not survive if it depended on the support of the Guild members; there is a fee for this lecture series, and as far as she knew no member of the Women's Guild had taken the course). Other activities in this category include: becoming a "docent" - which means attending instruction classes held by the Education Department, doing reading assignments and homework, and finally leading tours for children and adults of the permanent or temporary shows, taking prints to hospitals and shut-ins, driving for the blind students, and many tasks of pure drudgery such as cleaning and repairing slides from the Museum slide collection and cataloging prints and slides. Only 15% of the members' activity time is concentrated in serving the professional

goals of the Museum - in normative involvement in Museum affairs. These activities involve direct cooperation with the Education Department. And there was some bitterness among the Museum staff that while these various projects had started off with great enthusiasm and much volunteer support on the part of the Women's Guild, eventually each of these projects became simply one more task that the Education Department had to maintain with its own help. The Education Department personnel had the impression that such activities - since they involved taking directions from the Education staff - were felt to be beneath the dignity of the women of the Guild, except for a few constantly generous and dependable "old-timers".

3) Social activities are associated with the visible and formal positions of the Guild structure - activities inherent in the responsibilities of the formal roles within the Guild. Fifteen per cent of the activity time of the Women's Guild consists of the organizational business of the Guild _per se_. The Guild Board, the officers, their appointed committee chairmen, and those selected to work on special projects with the official staff make up a small, active and "socially" involved part of the membership. Appointments to committees are usually made on the basis of friendships; the officers are often friends; the integration of the Guild as a whole often depends on the social involvement of this group of devoted women.

4) Expressive activities - activities where the "flow of gratification"[1] is maximized, where the activity becomes the end in itself, where the goals of the organization - the Museum - are secondary and personal satisfaction is primary. Here the extreme social visibility of hostessing

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[1] Talcott Parsons, The Social System (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1951), p. 49.

at the regular teas, at the "gala" affairs or open houses of the Museum, or of having been selected to have "Open House" for the campaign workers during the membership campaign[1] is inherent in the activity. Forty-five per cent of the activity of the membership is encompassed by such participation.

In addition it must be noted that 24 per cent of the members reported that they engaged in no activities whatsoever - an "activity" not covered by the original formal statement - while 8 per cent reported they engaged in eight or more different activities. The distribution of the number of activities engaged in is as follows:

TABLE XXII PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES ENGAGED IN BY GUILD MEMBERS

None	24
1-2	36
3-5	32
6-7	----
8 and more	8

The 8 per cent who are involved in eight or more activities are officers of the Guild and hence on the Guild Board and on various standing committees; they serve more often as hostesses, work on the tour committees, and are heavily involved in the annual membership campaign. These are the hard-core workers within the Guild; and although the majority of them come from families with an after-tax income of $20,000 or more, about one-third have incomes in the two lowest categories - up to $5,000 and $5,001 to $10,000.

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[1] During the annual membership campaign, the team "pep-talks" and plans are discussed at the homes of ten or twelve of the most upper-class Museum members. These are usually well attended since this is one of the few times the "hoi polloi" can see the "inside" of these magnificent homes.

Both the instrumental and the expressive activities are highly visible - these are the activities that are written up in the women's pages of the newspapers, accompanied by photographs of the participants; these are the activities that the Museum Notes highlights and pictures in its monthly publication. The women involved in these activities are those who, with their husbands, attend the black-tie openings and the "galas", who dispense the hot dogs at the Outdoor Fair - all the while, with their calculated clumsiness and their "away" expressions, letting it be known that "hashing" is not the way they usually spend their time![1]

These are the activities that earn money for the Museum - money, however, over which the Guild has authority. For instance, the membership of the Guild voted recently to change its policy regarding the use of memorial gifts of money. Formerly the policy had been that such memorial gifts of money were to be used for the purchase of works of art for the Museum in memory of the deceased. The argument against the continuance of this policy was the enormous increase in the price of art works since the fund was established. Now such funds will be used for the floral decoration of the Museum, both for special events and for general display. The very same argument could have been used to buttress the continuance of the funds for the purchase of works of art to relieve the strain on an always-too-small endowment for art purchase in the Museum budget. The flowers, however, will be a more showy and continual source of recognition of the Guild's immediate contribution to the Museum than the slow building up of a fund, perhaps in cooperation with the Museum itself, for the purchase of a single work of art, where the contribution of the Women's Guild would be overshadowed by the significance of the work itself.

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[1] Their performance is, in fact, almost a parody, in its perfection, of Goffman's classic concept of "role distance". See Erving Goffman, "Role Distance", Encounters (Indianapolis, Indiana: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1961), pp. 85ff.

The change of this rule seems significant since it indicates the dominance of "expressive" involvement in the Museum over other types of involvement. Because of the visibility of even the "instrumental" activities, and because even these activities are treated "expressively" - as ends in themselves - by the press, the Museum Notes, even by the Director's Annual Report, as well as by Guild members, most women of the Guild gravitate toward these activities.

Those women who are involved in "normative" activities - activities which aid the professional ends of the Museum - such as the docents, the Education Department volunteers, the Guild member in charge of the stocking of the art lending and sale library, and the women who, with the cooperation of the Education Department, organized a fall and a spring lecture series (a "high-powered series", as it was described to me by one of the participants) to supplement the yearly series given by the Museum staff - tend to have little or nothing to do with the rest of the Guild's activities. All of their activity time is concentrated in this kind of volunteer work. Most of them have backgrounds and education in the arts; some of them are artists; all of them have an abiding belief in the professional rhetoric concerning art education. They are, generally, respected by the Education staff as the hard core of "serious" Guild members. The staff regaled me with stories about the inception of the docents' program when some of the "tea-and-cookie brigade" joined the first classes under the impression, according to the staff, that it would be glamorous to lead little children into the land of art. The staff, however, made the preparation so "stiff" that by the end of the first few months only those with a sincere interest in learning and teaching could stand the strain. And each year since, the staff watches with interest as the newcomers either give up because of the level of performance demanded by the staff or weather it out to join the "real" ones.

While the Guild acts under the authority granted by the Museum Board of Directors, such authority is circumscribed, as stated before, by the multifarious activities of the Guild, which confound surveillance; it is also limited by the nature of the organization of the Board of Directors and, ironically, by the Guild's success as a money-maker. The Guild has been so effective in this latter endeavor that it is granted de facto if not de jure autonomy by the Museum Board of Directors. At the spring Board of Directors meeting, when the Annual Report is presented by the Director and when each of the Board Committees makes its report, the Women's Guild report is the only one greeted with applause; and the applause is occasioned both by the magnitude of the sums raised and by the generosity of the Women's Guild in supporting various Museum affairs over the year.

This de facto autonomy is also treated deferentially by the entire staff of the Museum - a deference not untarnished with hostility. The Guild's relation to the core organization of the Museum is a "touchy" one, ranging as it does from open cooperation and mutual satisfaction with the Membership Department to suspicion in the Education Department and mutual obsequiousness with the Director and Assistant Directors. The Women's Guild would seem to have a "policy" with regard to its behavior to the Museum staff: ceremonial deference with the Director and Assistant Directors; magisterial condescension with the rest of the staff, not including the Membership Department. This distinction in behavior seems to be based on a rather obscure but real distinction (to the Guild members) between the Museum - the Board of Directors, the Women's Guild and the Director and Assistant Directors - and those-who-work-there. At those points where contact is made between the Guild members and the lower-level professional staff, there are likely to be sparks; and the conflicts so engendered encompass the problem of the autonomy of the Guild and the core organization of the Museum. The professional staff of the Museum is less disposed to legitimate the autonomy of the Women's Guild, particularly where it impinges on what the staff would define as professional areas of concern, or when the Guild attempts to impose on professional staff time for non-professional duties, or when activities which have been designated as the responsibilities of the Women's Guild or of the Museum Board become, in fact, the obligations of the professional staff. The lower professional ranks sense the differences between the Guild members' treatment of them and of the Director and react with aloofness and hostility to demands made on their time by the Guild members. For instance, despite the fact that the art-lending library is the responsibility of a Guild member who is also on the Museum Board, each year at the time of the Annual Report the task of doing the inventory and the financial report would be "assigned" by this member to the staff librarian. Needless to say, the librarian has a full-time occupation without this additional work "assigned" by someone she does not consider to have the authority to make the assignment.

Or, on the other occasion when the Guild was planning a "Champagne Gala" for the opening of an exhibition of national importance with admission charges of $8 per person or $15 per couple, the Guild decided that the staff could not attend unless they paid their admission. A mutiny among the staff members who always attended openings - in fact were expected to attend in order to perform such necessary functions as seeing that there were always enough clean sherry glasses, that the cooky plates and the coffee and tea urns were always adequately supplied - a mutiny was barely averted at the eleventh hour by the Director's urging the Guild to change its decision. For a week before the opening, during which time the entire staff was working overtime in order to set up the exhibition, sage remarks about the genuine purposes of the Guild mixed with maledictions for the ruin of this venture filled the air.

The face-to-face relation of the Guild members to the professional staff diminishes as the Guild members choose the more "expressive" and public kinds of activity open to the membership. Ultimately, this means that the kinds of "professional" help rendered by the Guild for the staff diminishes over time as the more "expressive" activities are chosen by Guild members. In the early days of the Guild's existence, "professional" assistance was considered a primary obligation as witnessed by its inclusion in the original Bylaws. Today the assistance the Guild offers to the Museum takes the form of money earned in activities that are often well outside the scope of the professional responsibilities of the Museum. Support of Museum projects tends to be accomplished primarily through the cash-nexus. The projects are usually those suggested by the Guild and approved by the

Director, at times with reservations. For instance, two high-priority projects that the Guild has wanted to put into action for some time are a restaurant and a gift shop. The Director has been reluctant to approve these projects, feeling that the Guild might not undertake to continue staffing and directing them on its own. Acquiescence in these projects was achieved because over the last few years the Guild has managed to build up a cash surplus that can assure the maintenance of such large-scale operations, at least for a time, without additional support from the regular Museum budget. This implies, of course, that the Guild has autonomy over the decisions about where, how much and why it spends its monies on the Museum.

This replacement of the former primary relationship by the cash-nexus leaves the Guild in the well known "he-who-pays-the-piper-calls-the-tune" position. The Guild has no obligation to render a complete financial account to either the Museum Board of Directors or to the Director since disclosure of the amount of the Guild's funds, divided into two parts - an administrative fund and a project fund, is not required by the Museum Board even at the annual report meetings. Hence, for projects which are the particular pets of the Guild but are received with less than enthusiasm by either the Museum Board or the Director, the Guild may simply hoard its funds until it can meet the financial demands out of its own pocket and launch the project - since refusal when the funds are available would be virtual suicide for the Director.

While the degree of autonomy exercised by the Guild has definite disadvantages because control over its decisions is limited, the replacement of the more personal services of Guild members by financial support of many non-professional and some of the professional activities of the Museum has some definite advantages. That fund-raising is the primary responsibility of the complementary organization is made explicit, and the Guild's performance in this capacity is satisfactory - more satisfactory than that of the Museum Board of Directors. Furthermore such a division of labor implicitly reinforces the caveat that professional responsibilities are the prerogative of the professional staff. Indeed, the women of the Guild are the first to recognize that they are neither prepared nor required to act as professionals, to have intense professional interests in the arts - that what is required is a rather diffuse interest in art and a willingness to work for the Museum. For example, Guild members indicate that willingness to work for the Museum is a primary criterion for membership in the Guild, while professional interest in the arts is seen as relatively unimportant.

TABLE XXIII PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF
IMPORTANCE OF CRITERIA FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE GUILD

	Very Important	Moderately Important	Not Important	Don't Know
Willingness to work for the Museum	88	----	----	12
Being attractive and gracious	24	40	16	20
Being interested in art	64	24	----	12
Having worked as a volunteer	16	40	28	16
Being knowledgeable about art	12	52	12	24
Being socially prominent	----	20	60	20
Being professionally involved in art	----	----	84	16
Having money	4	12	64	20

The professional staff gains in autonomy, in protection from outside interference, the more its expertise is recognized and the more explicit a division of labor between the core and complementary organizations is made. The Women's Guild has succeeded in partially crystallizing this division of labor as it has moved from being a service-oriented to a fund-raising arm of the Museum. The Guild is more willing to grant the legitimacy of the professional staff's claims than is the staff willing to reciprocate by granting the legitimacy of the role of the Guild. This is so despite the fact that the Guild agrees with the staff about values and functions more than does the Board or the general membership. Guild members agreed that building and maintaining a collection, educating the public and maintaining the standards of art were the most important functions of the Museum. The Guild is also more ready than the Board to support aspects of the professional rhetoric - the significance of art in the community, the role of the Museum in raising community standards, the value of the art-experience for the individual.

At the same time the Guild supports what to the staff are social rather than normative involvements in the Museum. Sixty-eight per cent of the Guild felt that an important function of the Museum was to give Museum members something important and socially useful to do. The staff is unwilling either to support or to legitimate such attachments to the Museum. The only legitimate attachment is the normative; all others threaten the autonomy of the staff and the standards of the Museum and of art, according to staff attitudes. In reality, the Guild contributes much financial support to the professional goals of the Museum, legitimates the staff's demands for autonomy and control over professional matters, and does not interfere in the daily operation of the Museum. The staff withholds validation of the Guild's as well as the Board's role because it is unsure of its professional autonomy and legitimation and consequently disclaims the validity of all roles and attachments to the Museum but its own. To justify their attitudes toward the Guild, staff members are prone to project their attitudes onto the general membership. The general membership, according to the staff, views the Museum as snobbish and clique-ridden because of the character and activities of the Guild and the Board. However, 84 per cent of the general membership was unaware of the existence of either the Board or the Guild.

CHAPTER XII SOME PUBLICS

The Museum serves a number of different publics. Some of these publics intersect, with members in common; other publics are more specific and isolated. A number of publics are examined in this research, although the scope had to be severely limited and hence the data are by no means conclusive or complete. Two general types of publics were selected for research - the general membership of the Museum, on the one hand, and those with some professional connection with art, on the other. These two were selected because both of them have basic organizztional ties to the Museum. The Museum membership is a formally recognized part of the organization; the artists, craftsmen and art teachers in the area have both formal and informal ties to the Museum. The Museum itself defines certain formal obligations to both of these groups; consequently the degree of satisfaction among such publics is an important datum for the Museum. And further, these two broad groups should represent a spectrum of values, attitudes about art, and definitions of the role of the Museum characteristic of the art professions and a more lay point of view.

The Art Publics

Questionnaires were sent to a selected list of artists and craftsmen in the area and to the art teachers in the public grade and high schools. The artists and craftsmen will be considered first, and to their numbers will be added members of the Creative Workshop of the Museum in order to compare the values and attitudes of the two groups.[1] In general, the teachers hired by the Museum were respected among artists outside the Museum; and in general, the Museum tried to incorporate a variety of styles and approaches to the arts and crafts, thus refusing to align itself with any particular art style or group.

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[1] Unless it is specifically noted that the Workshop teachers differ from the area artists and craftsmen, the data presented are for both groups - the evidence indicating that the two groups were similar.

There are some interesting similarities and differences in the social backgrounds and demographic characteristics of the artists and craftsmen as compared to members of the core and complementary organizations of the Museum and the general membership. Only 20 per cent of the artists were over fifty years of age; 25 per cent were between the ages of 30 and 39; 42 per cent were between 40 and 49. On the whole, those artists who are generally recognized in the area are young; those hired by the Museum are young. They also tend to be rather permanent residents of the area. Only 8 per cent had lived in the area less than ten years, while 79 per cent had been living in the area for 16 or more years. Most of the artists and craftsmen were married (83%), and two thirds of them were men.

In contrast to all other groups considered in this research, artists came from distinctly lower socio-economic backgrounds. Forty-two per cent came from backgrounds where the fathers had had only grade school educations: another 21 per cent of the fathers had had less than complete high school educations, and only 16 per cent had had any college education. In general, the parents of the women artists and craftsmen and the wives of the men artists and craftsmen tended to have slightly higher educational attainment, only 25 per cent of the fathers having had only grade school and 29 per cent having had some college (25 per cent did not answer the question). Only 8 per cent of the men artists and craftsmen, however, had had no college (and the no-response rate was very low), and only 4 per cent of the women had had no college. Thus, while coming from backgrounds where relatively few parents had had any college education, these artists and craftsmen had acquired both undergraduate and, often, graduate educations - 54 per cent of the men had had post-graduate training. All had had training in the arts; 75 per cent at the college level and 17 per cent at the post-graduate level. While 65 per cent felt that training in the arts was important, answers were qualified on a number of grounds. Training was seen as important - if not too rigid - because it allows one to associate with other artists and to be criticized not only by instructors but by fellow students, helps one to gain sensitivity, trains one to see and to respond; however, all agreed that experience, the actual working at the art or craft, was the most important training whether found within a class setting or on one's own.

Eighty per cent of the artists and craftsmen were employed; and few (12%) worked less than forty hours a week, these being by and large the women. Most held occupations related to their skills, the largest proportion being art teachers; only a handful listed commercial art as an occupation; and an equally small number worked in professional fields. Blue-collar jobs were almost entirely lacking (4%).

Incomes were typically lower than for the complementary organization members and the general members: 50 per cent earned between $5,000 and $10,000; 21 per cent between $10,000 and $15,000. The sale of their art work accounted for little of their yearly incomes: 17 per cent reported no sales and 63 per cent reported less than one fourth of their yearly incomes derived from the sale of their own art work.

While 54 per cent judged that their occupations interfered with their art work, 89 per cent claimed that they enjoyed their occupations; and almost half believed that the work constituted a positive force in their lives, helping them to use their time more efficiently, giving them much stimulation, keeping their interest level high, helping them to discipline themselves. While over 90 per cent expressed a desire to spend more time on their art or craft work, 42 per cent claimed they spent up to 19 hours a week on it, 21 per cent between 20 and 29 hours, and 17 per cent from 30 to 50 hours. In addition to a full work-week, then, most of these artists and craftsmen spend considerable time on their creative work and wish they could spend even more time.

With a week already full of occupational and personal work, the leisure patterns of artists and craftsmen differ from other groups considered in this research. The most obvious difference is that these people are classic non-joiners; none belonged to higher- or lower-prestige social organizations or clubs; only 21 per cent belonged to higher-status service organizations; only 16 per cent belonged to lesser-status service organizations; 38 per cent belonged to religious organizations (17% to the Friends or Unitarian churches, 17% to Protestant churches, 4% to Catholic churches). While only a few reported memberships in political organizations, 50 per cent described their political sympathies as Republican and 20 per cent as Democratic. Contrary to the argument advanced by mass-culture theorists, the artists and craftsmen of this sample do not consider themselves alienated (over 90 per cent rate themselves as "happy") and are far more likely to identify with the established conservative political party than with radical political groups.

While the same handful of artists and craftsmen accounted for most of the above organizational memberships, membership in art clubs, professional art groups and associations was widespread - only 17 per cent were not members of any art-associated group. The main reasons for membership in art clubs were the association with other artists, the exchange of ideas, the chance to learn, and the fact that the purposes of the art clubs coincided with the main interests of the members. Only 50 per cent, however, were members of the Museum. Twenty-one per cent spent no time in organizational work during the week; 55 per cent spent less than five hours; only 24 per cent spent more time.

The artists and craftsmen also reported spending considerable time in general socializing with family and friends - more time than either the Board or Guild members reported. Among artists and craftsmen, only 4 per cent drew none of their friends from fellow artists and craftsmen; 37 per cent drew most and 58 per cent drew some of their friends from this group. Attendance at local galleries and at Museum openings and exhibitions was frequent; attendance at other cultural events (Philharmonic concerts, private film series, Oratorio Society concerts) was higher than that found among the general public and was similar to that of the Women's Guild.

The following table illustrates the general life-situation attitudes of the artists and craftsmen compared to other groups in the study:

TABLE XXIV PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD LIFE-SITUATIONS BY GROUP

ATTITUDES TOWARD:	Group	Very Satisfied	"So-so"	Not Satisfied	No Answer
WORK	Board	80	5	5	10
	Guild	64	12	12	12
	G.M.*	94	3	----	3
	A/C**	88	4	4	4
SOCIAL POSITION	Board	90	----	----	10
	Guild	92	4	----	4
	G.M.	91	6	----	3
	A/C	92	8	----	----
STYLE OF LIFE	Board	90	----	----	10
	Guild	96	----	----	4
	G.M.	91	4	3	2
	A/C	96	4	----	----
ECONOMIC SITUATION	Board	90	----	----	10
	Guild	96	4	----	----
	G.M.	88	10	1	1
	A/C	75	12	----	12

*G.M. - General Membership
**A/C - Artists and craftsmen

There is certainly no indication of alienation or general dissatisfaction among the artists and craftsmen as a group despite lower incomes and less general social validation of their life-work than is enjoyed by many other occupational groups. Among artists and craftsmen there is greater reliance on informal and primary-group social organization for social life than upon formal organizations. Friendships and family take up more of their time, formal organizational memberships less of their time, than among the other groups.

While one or two of the responding artists and craftsmen do have national reputations,[1] most of them have solid local reputations, being selected for display exhibition at major area or state shows, being carried in the better area galleries - a few in New York City galleries - being members of the more prestigious art clubs of the area. Most of them pursue their art work in addition to holding down forty-hour-a-week jobs - jobs which are usually related to their skills. Most regard themselves as "artists or craftsmen" (66%); despite the fact that most are employed as educators, only 8 per cent identify themselves as such. This identification is self-validated for some. Because they do art or craft work, because it is their major interest, because they see art or craft work as their role, 40 per cent of those identifying themselves as artists or craftsmen validate the role for themselves. Another 40 per cent rely on the validation of others for this identification - that others buy their work, hire them as artists, pay them for their arts or crafts, select them for exhibitions validates their role and identification.

While consensus in attitudes toward art among these artists and craftsmen is not as high as among the Museum staff members, it is higher than for any other group considered in this research. While the sample represented diverse styles and techniques in the arts and crafts, the group as a whole is characterized by a surprising similarity of attitudes about some aspects of the arts. The artists and craftsmen differ from the staff in that they do not commit themselves to the value of the arts in life to the same degree. Only 50 per cent rate it as the highest value; another 29 per cent rate it second highest. None, however, rate it as the lowest of their life values - a rating found not infrequently among the general membership and the complementary organization members. Twenty-nine per cent agree with the statement "Generally speaking, art is not a necessity of life," while only 17 per cent of the staff agreed. The artists and craftsmen are closer to the Board and the Guild on this issue than they are to the staff.

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[1] Five per cent of the original sample of artists and craftsmen had national reputations; all were selected because judges rated them among the best artists and craftsmen of the area. Of the original fifty selected for the sample, 50 % responded. Of these, about two-fifths, while answering the questionnaire, indicated their irritation about such research methods.

As one might expect, the attitudes of artists and craftsmen toward the artist differ from those of the other groups. More than any other group, they reject the notion that the artist is Bohemian; and more than any other group, except the staff, they insist that the artist is as important to society as the businesman. Unlike all other groups, which uniformly disagree with the judgment that artists are natural outsiders within any society, the artists and craftsmen of the Museum Workshops disagree but those not employed by the Museum are polarized between agreeing and disagreeing. There is disagreement between those artists and craftsmen employed by the Museum and those not employed over the question of young people's going into the professions or the arts. When asked to respond to the statement "I would rather see young people going into the professions or business than the arts," 84 per cent of the Workshop staff but only 34 per cent of the artists and craftsmen sample disagree. The Workshop staff is similar to the Museum staff; the artist and craftsman sample as a whole is unlike all other groups.

The artists and craftsmen are occasionally different from staff and other groups on attitudes relating to the conventional professional rhetoric. For instance, while the artists and craftsmen agree that all should have some exposure to the arts - the proportions agreeing are similar to these found in other groups - the artists and craftsmen are less likely to agree that people are not educated unless they know something about art; only 55 per cent of the artists and craftsmen, as compared to 83 per cent of the staff and 70 per cent of the Board, agree. Among the artists and craftsmen, enjoyment of art is distinguished from understanding art; a higher proportion of this group feels that it is possible to enjoy art without understanding it. At the same time the artists and craftsmen agree with the other groups that understanding enhances the enjoyment of art.

The artists and craftsmen confirm attitudes relating to professionally legitimated approaches to art: like all other groups, they would rather look at original art than read or hear lectures about it. They differ from both core and complementary organization members in their tendency to be interested in the lives and personalities of artists. Artists and craftsmen also disagree with all other groups on the relative merits of training over self-expression. The staff, the complementary organization and the general membership tend to agree that the more training an artist has, the better artist he is; artists and craftsmen in general reject this notion. More than the other groups the artists and craftsmen also agree that too much training inhibits creativity. However, training in the arts is not simply dismissed by artists and craftsmen, for they, more than any other group, reject the notion that self-expression is more important than training. The general importance of training is also reaffirmed by the standards which are applied by artists and craftsmen in judging work.

Craftsmanship, technical excellence in the use of materials, knowledge of the materials is as important as originality, insight, creativity. And the latter merit praise only if buttressed by a firm professional knowledge and grasp of the craft basis of the art.

The artists and craftsmen do not look to the opinions of the lay or even the educated public as important for judging their work or success. The good opinion of fellow artists or craftsmen in general is most important, artists who are friends next; the Director of the Museum is next in rank, followed by the director of the most selective gallery.

There is a general consensus among this group regarding the values and standards of art despite the fact that different styles - conventional and more experimental styles - are represented among the artists and craftsmen. These artists and craftsmen have neither "sold out" to public opinion, relying as they do most often on the opinions and attitudes of their fellow artists, nor have they "gone over" to the art-establishment world - the opinions of museum directors, gallery directors, University art departments, while important, are less so than their own judgments and those of their fellow artists. Furthermore there is no indication that these artists and craftsmen have felt the need to withdraw into a private, internalized world of experimental art. While public opinion is less important than other sources of criticism, 50 per cent maintain that the opinion of the educated lay public is important to them. While the attitudes and opinions of their own artist groups are most important to them, their stylistic differences attest to lack of control by this group. While consensus is high among them, while extensive ties to the broader society through formal organizations are lacking, the social environment of the artist is neither anomic nor atomistic. And, more important, the broader social world is not rejected by them - they share a predominantly conservative political identification with, for instance, the Board of Directors.

Despite the fact that only half of these artists and craftsmen are members of the Museum, the Museum is perceived by them as an important criterion organization. At the same time their ties to the Museum tend to be tenuous unless they are associated with it through teaching in the Workshop classes. Consistently, Workshop faculty know more of the Museum staff, see more of them socially and are acquainted with more of the complementary organization members. Both the Workshop faculty and the non-Workshop artists and craftsmen are more often acquainted with members of the education department than with members of any other department within the Museum. Only 11 per cent of the non-Workshop artists and craftsmen were unacquainted with any Museum staff members.

Despite the fact that association with the Museum is markedly different for the Workshop artists and craftsmen, attitudes toward the Museum are remarkably similar among both Workshop and non-Workshop groups. The two groups, in general, share attitudes about the role, functions and services of the Museum, and also tend to be more similar to the staff than to the members of the complementary organization.

The artists and craftsmen support the non-visible, profession-oriented functions and tasks of the Museum more than any other group except the core organization itself. All of them regard the care and maintenance of the collections, their proper storage, the need for extensive research and adequate research facilities and the building of the collections as among the most important tasks of the Museum. Consequently they understand the need for a large library, adequate storage facilities, and a large professional staff for the Museum.

They also show considerable support for many of the public-oriented services of the Museum - large exhibition areas, frequent temporary exhibitions, the display of the permanent collection, the showing of important national exhibitions, frequent contemporary art exhibitions, and shows of local artists and craftsmen. In general, they regard exhibitions as more important than education.

And with regard to education, they tend to value the education of children as more important than the education of adults. While they see education in general as an important service of the Museum, there is more support among them for children's classes and the school program than there is, for example, for the adult lecture series. Adult classes in the Workshop draw more support than the lecture series.

I suspect that this distinction is associated with their general lack of support for the social functions of the Museum. Membership clubrooms, gala openings, gift shops and restaurants, were deemed important by less than 50 per cent of the artists and craftsmen while the profession-oriented services were supported by 100 per cent and the various educational services by 85-100 per cent. While the complementary organization looked with favor on certain Museum activities as giving the membership something important to do and as a way of meeting interesting people, in general, the artists and craftsmen rejected these as unimportant functions of the Museum.

The artists and craftsmen also tend to support the professionals within the Museum as the source for decision-making. In particular the Director and the Assistant Directors were more often seen as the legitimate decision-makers - 96 per cent felt that the Director should always be involved, 83 per cent felt the Assistant Directors should always be involved; only 43 per cent felt that the Board of Directors should always be involved in the decision-making process. The Board of Directors is viewed by artists and craftsmen primarily as a fund-raising arm of the organization; and most of them would limit the Board's participation in such areas as the selection of art, the policies regarding education and exhibitions, and even the public relations of the Museum.

At the same time the artists and craftsmen shared the predominant views of other members of the public regarding the criteria of selection to the Board of Managers. Willingness to work for the organization and a deep feeling for the arts were judged the most important criteria for selection while social position was viewed as unimportant. The consistency of this response indicates that members of the public respond by selecting what would be considered ideal criteria for Board members; and since most Board members are protected by their social positions from broad acquaintance with the public, the importance of social position goes unrecognized.

There was less criticism of the Museum and less feeling that the Museum could give greater support to local artists than I had expected. Only 50 per cent felt that the Museum should extend its support of the local artist and craftsmen. More exhibitions of local artists and more purchases of their work were viewed as the means of such support, although a few felt that local artists and craftsmen should be represented on the Board of Directors. And while most of the artists and craftsmen had heard criticisms of the Museum, they admitted that these criticisms centered around public biases about either conservative or experimental art. They reported that such criticisms were about equally divided between the partisans on both sides of this argument. At the same time the artists and craftsmen felt that the Museum was "too poor" and that there should be greater financial support for it from the public and from local, state and national governmental funds.

From the Museum's point of view the artist was often seen as a disruptive and unruly element. Disruptions and explosions often occurred during the large area show and the outdoor art show. The area show was juried by a special out-of-the-area jury each year; the outdoor art show was unjuried. A great many artists from an area of five or more counties participated in both of these exhibitions, and feelings about selection and prizes often ran high during the area show. In addition, the local newspapers usually made good copy of the "outlandish" art, of the attitudes and explosions of the artists, and even of their apparel. During the year the Museum housed several other exhibitions featuring the work of area artists without such brouhaha. Several art clubs had the historic privilege of art shows within the Museum, and at Christmas a large gift exhibition was arranged by the Museum staff. In the first case judging was the responsibility of the art clubs, in the second of the Museum. In these latter instances there was virtually no coverage by the press - an issue was not made of these exhibitions - and relations between artists and Museum remained amicable, although there were criticisms concerning Museum policy in the selection of art clubs for the honor of exhibitions.

There seems to be little evidence of any seriously negative feelings on the part of the artists and craftsmen regarding the Museum. My limited observation of artists' groups tends to support this conclusion. They look to the Museum for scant help in establishing themselves or selling their wares; galleries are judged to be more important for this service. They realistically acknowledge that a museum is limited by many factors and cannot primarily serve the artists and craftsmen of its area. The Museum's main function for them is providing original art for study and viewing - both historical and contemporary art are important. While prizes in the area show are earnestly desired and sought after, artists and craftsmen recognize that to be meaningful such prizes must be limited and that the selection of artists to such a showing must also be limited. The fact that the current Director has insisted on out-of-the-area jurors and jurors of national rank has impressed the local artists and craftsmen; and their general attitude is "If I don't win this year, maybe next."

While the artists and craftsmen have an indirect association with the Museum, the art teachers in the public elementary, junior high and high schools have a direct association with the Museum. The Museum's ostensible policy is to include all of these teachers in a large-scale enrichment program in the arts. The art teachers in the Rochester area schools are typically younger than any other group investigated in this study. Forty-eight per cent were between the ages of 20-29; 28 per cent between 30-39. Forty-eight per cent were men; 52 per cent were women. Only 14 per cent had lived in the area for eight or more years; 48 per cent had lived in the area for only one to three years. All had had college educations; and 34 per cent regarded themselves primarily as artists and secondarily as educators. Art teachers, thus, tend to be significantly different from other groups in the study.

The Museum attempts each year to contact all these public-school teachers in order to involve them in a continuous program of utilization of Museum facilities for their students. Despite this effort, almost 20 per cent of the teachers claimed that they had not known of the program before my questionnaire informed them; knowing now, two-thirds of these claimed they would use the program in the future. Another 69 per cent used the program fairly regularly. Three per cent used materials of their own to supplement their art classes and saw no need for the Museum facilities.

Of those services offered by the Museum in its school programs, the Museum tour was the most frequently used; loans of art prints was the second most favored, with the case displays, slides and original rentals following in order of use. Many teachers used several of these services; 23 per cent using three or more throughout the year. A small proportion of the teachers, then, takes most advantage of the program.

This group of active participants is impressed with the service and the Museum; they are enthusiastic about the cooperation with the Museum, although many admit that coordination is a problem, and feel that the students benefit enormously from such contacts. The two most frequently expressed reasons among all teachers for using the services were the impact on the student - broadening his experiences, increasing his awareness of art, introducing him to the Museum - and the supplementary nature of the materials. Many teachers reported that school budgets were limited for art supplies and supplementary aides and that the Museum facilities and services were invaluable because of this.

Teacher reaction to the facilities and the Museum was not as favorable over-all as it was among those who used the services extensively. Thirty-one per cent were satisfied in general; 31 per cent were satisfied in part;

10 per cent were not satisfied. The problems for most centered not in the relations with the education department staff - on the whole considered cooperative and liked by the teachers - but with the materials and with the coordination of the program. One area of criticism was seen, thus, to lie with the Museum, the other with the relations between the Museum and the school system. Many had complaints about the "shop-worn" quality of the prints, displays, slides that were used; many felt that the over-all quality of the program should be improved. In all, about 32 per cent felt that the problems of the program lay with the Museum.

Another 30 per cent felt that coordination between the schools and the Museum should be improved. The Museum should adapt the programs more to the needs of the school art departments; the Museum should advertise its programs more completely; the schools should aid in coordinating transportation and scheduling more readily; the schools should aid by financing the Museum's coming to the schools. This latter point was made consistently by school personnel located too far from the Museum to make visits practicable. The artmobile, initiated during the last year of this research, was, in part, an answer to the problem of distance.

In many ways, the criticisms of the art teachers seem to echo those of the education department staff - too hectic a schedule given the short time of the tours and the distance to the schools for lecture appointments, the often poor quality of materials such as prints and displays; the quality of the whole program suffers, from the Museum staff's point of view, from over-scheduling. However, both the Museum and the art teachers are committed to the idea of such cooperation, 83 per cent of all teachers regarding such cooperation as a good idea and another 10 per cent regarding it as a good idea but needing considerable work to make it meaningful.

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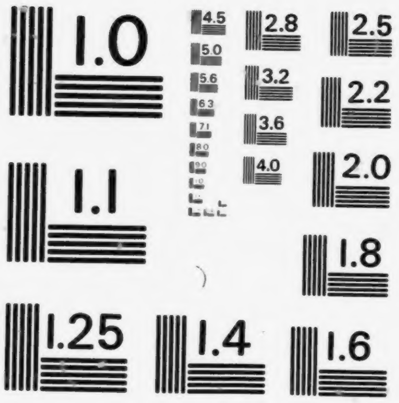
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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

Fifty-two per cent of the art teachers were members of the Museum. Most of these felt that Museum support was natural for persons in their positions and that the Museum needed the financial support of memberships; hence they had joined for such reasons. Those not joining claimed that they had no time for such activities, as if being a member forced one to be active, or that since the Museum was public, its benefits could be enjoyed without membership. Most of the art teachers were not interested in the social activities of the Museum; more were interested in profession-related services and opportunities of membership - the right to take classes (generally regarded as professionally respectable), the right to join special tours - and in the public-oriented services of the Museum - the exhibitions and lectures. More than 50 per cent of all the art teachers were satisfied with the Museum program although 34 per cent were critical of the general quality - a slightly higher proportion expressing dissatisfaction than in any other group. Most of the criticism concerned the "poor" quality of the permanent collection - but since most of the collection was, at that time, not on display, it is hard to judge why the art teachers were more critical than any other group.

What emerges from this analysis, incomplete though it is, of two art publics for the Museum is the fact of general support for the Museum, general satisfaction with the Museum and implicitly, then, a willingness to moderate judgments about Museum policy and practice in favor of the Museum - there is no out-of-hand condemnation of what the Museum does, nor are there any particular areas of concern about what the Museum should do among such art publics. Art publics are more interested in the profession-related programs of the Museum, less interested in the social programs than are other groups. On the whole, then, the Museum is granted a free hand by such publics since they have no vested interest in specific demands. Such publics neither control the Museum nor are controlled in matters of taste and interest by it; such publics use the Museum instrumentally for their own ends. And the Museum, since no general criticisms or rejections of it are manifested, apparently satisfies diverse publics without making partisans or enemies of them. That the Museum can in general satisfy the professional art public implies, to me, that it has broad public support and is far more free than many of the staff feel. It is free to pursue policies based on "what is best for the Museum" - vague phrase though that is; this seems implied by the fact that a public which could be partisan - such as the art public - sees the Museum as having interests and functions different from its own interests and functions. That the Museum does not give complete service and support to the artist is not seen by the artist as a damning indictment of the Museum - it can still be supported by the art community.

Staff members often give the impression of being beleaguered by foes both known and unknown. Unknown foes there are - in that art as a value is not generally supported to the same extent that most Museum staffers support it. Hence any criticism from any quarter is treated by the staff as the damning of great virtue, as the subversion of all their efforts. And criticisms that the staff confronts usually originate with some known public which then becomes, in the staff's mind, a public enemy. Committed by their professional rhetoric to public service, staff members sacrifice many goals they see as important intra-professionally and intramurally. When any section of the public criticizes their public service, the staff reacts with the hostility bred of martyrdom - "I have done more than I want for you, sacrificing my own interests; you should not complain!" If any section of the public criticizes their "professional" performance, the hostility is even greater. The art public is likely to do both - without at the same time losing its generally positive feeling for the Museum and its services. The Museum staff tends to overlook this latter point and to view the artists and craftsmen with an unjustified suspicion exceeded only by their suspicion of the social elite.

While its suspicion seems unjustified, the Museum staff's view of the artists and craftsmen as different from the professional staff is, in general, justified. The artists' and craftsmen's definition of the role of the Museum is different from the staff's; they do expect different things of the Museum and do not completely share the professional values concerning art and the Museum. Even the faculty of the Museum Workshop classes differ from other staff members insofar as they are more similar to artists and craftsmen outside the formal Museum organization; they thus constitute a group with a somewhat divergent set of values within the otherwise relatively homogeneous core organization of the Museum.

The Membership Public

Social and demographic characteristics of the general membership were noted earlier[1]; they will be summarized briefly here. Twenty-five per cent have resided in the area for five years or less, 15 per cent from six to fifteen years; 55 per cent for over fifteen years. Forty per cent are under forty years of age, 28 per cent between the ages of 40 and 49; 28 per cent are 50 or older. The general membership is characterized by both shorter residence in the area and younger age than the members of the complementary organization. Only 4 per cent of the men and 19 per cent of the women had had only a high school education; in general the membership is selected from the college-educated population. The income distribution is also skewed toward the higher incomes: only 17 per cent have incomes of less than $10,000, while 36 per cent have incomes of $20,000 or more. And similarly the occupations of members are overwhelmingly professional or high-status business - 76 per cent of all the sample falling into these two categories while only 6 per cent are classified as blue-collar. Parental occupational status was also higher than average: 50 per cent came from families whose head held a professional or high-status business occupation, while only 18 per cent came from blue-collar or unskilled occupational backgrounds.

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[1] See above, Chapter IX.

While 67 per cent of the general membership identified their political preferences as Republican, 42 per cent claimed to have no religious preference and 37 per cent identified themselves as Protestants. Very few listed either Jewish or Catholic religious preferences. Members of the Museum are fairly active in other formal organizations although not as active as members of the complementary organization: 25 per cent belong to three organizations or less;52 per cent are members of from 4-8 organizations, while 23 per cent belong to nine or more organizations. Although high-status social and service organizations are represented among the general membership, they are not as characteristic of this group as they are of the members of the complementary organization. On the whole, though, memberships in high-status formal organizations are more characteristic of the general membership than memberships in lesser-status social or service organizations. The general membership is also characterized by a larger proportion of membership in civil- and social-rights groups, 18 per cent of the membership belonging to such groups. Only 6 per cent of the general membership reported spending no time in the activities of their organizations; 30 per cent claimed as few as two hours per week, 28 per cent from 3 to 5 hours, and 29 per cent eleven hours or more. The general membership belongs to fewer organizations and spends less time in the activities of such organizations than does the complementary organization membership.

While spending less time in formal organizational activites, the men of the membership sample tend to spend more time in their occupations than do the men on the Board of Directors: 43 per cent spend fifty hours or more. The women in the general membership sample also tend to devote more time to their occupations - household or other - than do the women of the complementary organization. And the general membership devotes considerably more time to other leisure activities than does the typical complementary organization member: 83 per cent of the general membership but only 55 per cent of the Board members spend over 6 hours per week in leisure activities. The pattern for such leisure is the same for all groups in the sample - active sports, domestic arts and crafts, and reading, in that order, are the three most frequently mentioned leisure activities.

Among the general members, 25 per cent give art the highest place in their life's values, 33 per cent the second highest, and about 16 per cent the two lowest ranks in their life's values. This distribution of attitudes toward art is not significantly different from that of the complementary organization members, although it does differ from the staff's and the artist's attitudes. Larger proportions of the general membership hardly ever or never visit the other leading art galleries in the area; only the Museum of Photography is visited regularly by a large proportion of the general members. At the same time the general members also evidence a wide interest in other art forms, many of the other forms - especially literature and music - being of greater interest to them than the plastic and graphic arts. Again, this greater interest in other art forms was characteristic of the complementary organization members. Only 24 per cent of the general membership never attended the Philharmonic concerts; only 40 per cent never attended the film series at the Museum of Photography.

For 60 per cent of the general membership, interest in the arts began in childhood. These art patrons were introduced to art either through school classes in the arts, particularly in grade school, or through their own families, particularly through members of the family or friends of the family who practiced an art form. Another 40 per cent were introduced to art during their adult lives, and most of these accounted college introductions as the most important means by which such an interest was generated.

On the whole the association of the general members with the Museum is not close: 64 per cent of the general membership have never been active in any aspect of the Museum's activities, and most of these have no desire to be active in the future. However, 58 per cent of the general membership is acquainted with other members who are active - for the most part with members who take part in the yearly membership drives. Consequently an introduction to the Museum was often effected through friends or family (28%). The membership campaign itself accounted for only 23 per cent of the first introductions to the Museum. However, 50 per cent stated their interest had been great enough for them to have investigated the Museum on their own - this was particularly characteristic of those who had moved to the area during their adult lives.

Only 50 per cent of the general membership knew any members of the staff. Typically the education department staff acts as a major source of contact with the outside world - 21 per cent of the general membership were acquainted with someone from the education department. Forty-eight per cent of the general membership were not acquainted with any member of the Museum staff; 63 per cent had never met the Director, the Assistant Directors, or other staff members socially. However, 45 per cent of the general membership were acquainted with artists or craftsmen in the area - a higher percentage than for any other non-art group associated with the Museum.

The general membership appears satisfied with the Museum - 87 per cent claiming general satisfaction, 33 per cent saying they are very satisfied. Those very satisfied are a smaller proportion than is found among the complementary organization members. The criticisms the general members report having heard are slightly different from the criticisms heard by complementary organization members. Hardly any general members have heard the criticism that the Museum is snobbish or encourages snobbery among its members. Instead, the most generally heard criticisms dealt with the limitations of the physical plant, the general shabbiness of the interior, the limited space. (A building program, completed since the research was terminated, has corrected most of these problems.)

In general, the membership of the Museum is inactive in the regularly scheduled Museum events. Eighty-one per cent of the membership claims regular or occasional attendance at the exhibitions. Fifty-six per cent are interested in the openings and attend them occasionally or regularly. Other public services are poorly attended - over 65 per cent of the membership never attend lectures, history or appreciation classes, demonstrations, or Workshop classes. The interest of the general members is almost entirely concentrated on the Museum's exhibition program. And it is interesting to note that there were virtually no criticisms among members about this program - some desired a larger portion of the permanent collection on display, but even this comment was infrequent.

The answers by the general membership to questions regarding the organization of the Museum suggest that little is known about the formal structure and the decision-making process within the organization. The membership overwhelmingly supports the Director in decision-making against all other persons within the organization, including the Board of Directors. The general membership is, interestingly enough, less willing than other groups to allow the general public a voice in decision-making, although there was support for the membership's being included occasionally. The membership sees the function of the Board of Directors almost exclusively as fund-raising for and financial and cost management of the Museum. There was less support for the tasks of the Board in areas like public relations, the purchase of art, and policy-setting than among other groups except the staff itself. At the same time the membership agreed with all other groups that willingness to work for the Museum and a deep feeling for the arts, not social status, were the most important criteria for placement on the Board.

When the services and functions of the Museum are considered, there is more general support for the profession-oriented services among the general membership than among the members of the complementary organization. Thus research facilities, a large library, building the collection, and the care and maintenance of the collection all had support, with more than 90 per cent judging such tasks to be important. In contrast, the purely social services of the Museum - gala openings, clubrooms for members, restaurant, gift shop, opportunities to meet interesting people - had the support of less than 50 per cent of the general membership. Usually only 35 per cent of the membership judged such activities as important. The public-oriented professional tasks also garnered much support among the general membership: 80 to 90 per cent judged such services as school education, exhibitions, Workshop classes for children and adults, frequent temporary exhibitions as important for both public and Museum.

The general membership was given the same checklist of attitude items as the other groups; in comparison with all other groups, the general members are characterized by a great diversity of opinion and a general lack of consensus. There was consensus (60 per cent or more agreeing or disagreeing) on only 17 of the 44 items, 13 of which were shared with the staff and the complementary organization members. The professional rhetoric claims allegiance among general members: there is agreement that all should have some exposure to art, that one is not educated without such exposure or without some education in the arts, that education is a prime goal for the Museum, that understanding enhances both the appreciation and enjoyment of art. On such items there is consensus among the general membership as well as with staff, Board and Guild members, and, to a lesser extent, with the artists and craftsmen.

While art is claimed to be an important value in life by the general membership, and while there is general agreement that a world without art would be difficult to imagine, there is ambivalence about the artists and about art as a career. There is no agreement about typical stereotypes of the artist, and a wide variety of attitudes toward the artist and toward such stereotypes is evident. Thus, there is virtually equal acceptance and rejection of and neutrality toward the ideas that artists are socially unconventional, that artists are basically different from professionals, that the artist is as important to society as the businessman. At the same time there is agreement that artists are not natural outsiders within our society. There is slightly more rejection of stereotypes among those who count artists among their acquaintances, but on the whole no single variable cross-cuts such attitudes enough to explain this lack of consensus. Thus, among those claiming that art has a very high place in their life's values, there is almost as much disagreement as among the whole sample.

There is greater consensus among the general membership about attitudes toward the Museum. Education is seen as a primary role, and from this position several related attitudes flow. Thus the Museum should not be run for its members alone, and exhibitions should be aimed above the level of taste of the public and the membership in order to stimulate and encourage the broadening of experience. These attitudes are similarly shared by members of both the core and the complementary organizations.

A small sample of former members was drawn from the Museum files in order to ascertain whether there were any consistent patterns among former members which would distinguish them from current members. The former members are similar in general socio-economic and demographic characteristics although even here small differences may be noted. The former members tend to be slightly older - 80 per cent being over forty years of age - and to have had longer residence in the area - 53 per cent having lived in the area for 25 years or more.

Over 80 per cent of the men (respondents or spouses) had had college educations; 68 per cent of the women (respondents or spouses) had had college educations. Thus the education level of former members was high as was also their occupational status - 60 per cent of the men having professional occupations, with the highest concentration of academic and medical professionals of all the samples. In addition, 67 per cent had incomes of $15,000 and over (27 per cent having incomes of over $20,000). A large proportion of the former-member sample came from homes of high educational achievement - 54 per cent of the men had fathers who had had at least some college education. In all, the former members are consistently of high income, high occupational status and high educational backgrounds.

At the same time the former members belong to fewer organizations, and to fewer high-status social or service organizations in particular, than either the general membership or the complementary organization membership. Thirty-three per cent reported spending no time in organizational work; 40 per cent reported spending up to 5 hours per week. Former members spend more time in their occupations, however: 54 per cent spend 40-49 hours per week; 33 per cent spend 50 or more hours per week.

Of all groups studied, the former members gave art the least high position within their life-values system - only 20 per cent awarding art the two highest positions while 13 per cent gave it the lowest rank. This low evaluation is confirmed by other patterns of behavior and by their attitudes. Former members attend other cultural events and Museum events less than other groups; former members are less interested in other art forms than all other groups.

Furthermore, while all other groups named support of the Museum and of art as the primary reason for membership in the Museum, the former members are distinct in their instrumental attitudes toward the Museum. Overwhelmingly (72%) the reason for membership was the right to attend classes - either children's or adults' Workshop classes. When interest flagged in this leisure activity, membership was dropped. Another reason given for allowing memberships to lapse was the inability of the member to take part in any other activity - even viewing the exhibitions - for lack of time. Only a handful of these members had ever heard criticisms of the Museum; only one or two were interested in criticisms of the Museum. Most of them were satisfied with the Museum and its programs.

There was a fair degree of consensus among former members concerning the items on the attitude checklist; however, these attitudes showed some striking divergences from all other groups. The former members were less supportive than others of some of the professional rhetoric and some of the general "enlightened" attitudes about art. More than any other group, they saw the current interest in art as dictated by its being socially fashionable; all other groups in this study rejected this notion. Furthermore they rejected the notion that people were not educated unless they knew something about art - a shibboleth of the professional rhetoric and the contemporary conventions about art: all other groups agreed that one was not educated unless one had some understanding of the arts. At the same time, while all other groups rejected the notion that good taste was indicated by liking the fine arts and good music, the former members accepted this dictum, indicating perhaps the continued acceptance of the older view that good taste is measured by an appreciation of the "high arts" as opposed to the popular arts.

A number of current prejudices regarding the importance of seeing as against reading about and listening to lectures on art are also rejected by these former members. They would as soon hear about the lives of artists as about the theory of art; they would as soon see a reproduction as the original; they are not concerned whether they ever do see originals - all attitudes which are generally rejected by the other groups in this study. They are not concerned over the purchase of the works of local artists and craftsmen, a concern all other groups shared; and they feel that even the work of local artists is priced beyond their pocketbooks - an attitude not shared by other groups.

While former members feel that the Museum should not be run primarily for its members, they accept the notion that it should try to please the greatest number - an attitude roundly rejected by all other groups. Furthermore, they are not convinced that education is the prime role, although they are at a loss to indicate what the role should be. The sense of their suggestions tends in the direction of "giving pleasure," and hence the social services of the Museum tend to be supported by this group - the gala openings, the lecture-and-tea circuit, the dinners.

In all, the former members tend to be characterized by different attitudes about art and demands for the Museum than all other groups in this study, while not being significantly different in their social class characteristics. What most completely distinguishes them from other groups is their lesser interest in the arts and their more instrumental approach to the Museum.

Generally speaking, there is support among these publics for much of the professional rhetoric and for the right of the professionals themselves to make policy decisions concerning the Museum. Both the artists and the general membership support the professionals against the Board in issues involving major decisions of the Museum, although this does not imply that the Board is not seen as an important and dedicated group by both of these publics. We have seen that Board members are themselves inclined to abdicate many of their rights in this area. The implication of this for the Museum is that, contrary to the staff's view, they have a broad mandate to set the tone and the policy of the Museum, to determine its course, its activities, and its role in the community. They have such a mandate not because publics are apathetic but because different groups within these publics relate to the Museum in different ways and for different purposes - social, instrumental and normative all being important modes of relating to the Museum. The publics are not apathetic either in the degree of their activities in the arts in general or in other aspects of organizational and leisure life - generally speaking, they all have active lives although centered around different hubs of activity. They are willing to follow the lead of the professional Museum staff because they accept its task as being "expert" and therefore believe that those who are most proficient should make the decisions. Even the artists - those who could easily be considered most likely to have an axe to grind in attempting to coerce or influence Museum policy - tend to refer Museum decisions to the Museum staff and do not even push for representation on the Board or within the Museum.

Furthermore, there is no indication that these publics blindly accept the professional rhetoric or the attitudes of the staff about matters concerning the Museum and art. There is always dissension between the groups and the Museum despite the fact that each group has its particular attitudes, and there is little common agreement within the groups. The Museum and the professional rhetoric has not yet succeeded in "brainwashing" these publics.

CHAPTER XIII CONCLUSION

The conclusion reached by an analysis of the organization of the Museum - its formal and informal structure, its value systems, its relation to the museum worker's profession, its various publics - justifies the assertion that the Museum is, indeed, a complex organization. No simple summary will do justice to this complexity; furthermore, the implications of this study for the theory of the mass-culture critics are also complex, not simple or easily stated in summary form. The conclusion, therefore, will be concerned first with the implications of the analysis for the theory of the mass-culture critics; secondly, some alternatives to the mass-culture theory will be explored.

There are two levels of concern in the theory of mass culture as it pertains to this study. There is the general level of the usefulness of the conceptual terminology, the broad theories relating to the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the value system of modern society, the theories relating class and culture, and the characteristics of elites and masses as audiences for the fine arts. There is, also, the more particular level of argument as it concerns the organization of the Museum itself.

The general position of the critics of mass culture is that the fine arts are in danger, their survival uncertain. Support for this position is drawn from the perceived absence of several conditions within modern society. The critics assume 1) the necessity of a strong class-based support for the fine arts, the identification of class-culture with a fine-arts culture, the sharing of homogeneous values by this class-based social group; 2) social and cultural leadership by an elite legitimated by all social classes; 3) the isolation and protection of both elites and higher social classes from the masses.

The evidence from this study strongly suggests that there is a class-based support for the fine arts - almost all of the membership support for the Museum comes from an upper-middle class. Interest in the fine arts seems to be class-limited. However, the social class from which this support is drawn is certainly not characterized by a homogeneity of values, nor can the fine arts be identified with the culture of this group in any meaningful way if by culture is meant the values, standards and norms of the group. Culture in this sense is based on far more than the content of values and standards in the fine arts.

While the support for the fine arts is class-based, such support is not coterminous with the upper and upper-middle social classes - a condition deemed necessary by the critics of modern culture. Support for the fine arts is selective within these upper social classes. The reasons for supporting the organizations and values of the fine arts among such upper-middle- and upper-class persons are varied; therefore neither support for the arts nor the reasons for such support can be predicted by class position alone. In the broadest terms, those supporting the fine arts justify their interest and support on normative, instrumental or expressive grounds, or some combination of such attachments. Mass-culture critics implicitly hold to the notion that only a normative attachment to the fine arts is a true attachment - that instrumental or expressive attachments sabotage the purity of intent necessary for support of the arts, are too easily converted into gimmicky pastimes and self-indulgent flattery about one's cultural level, or are too open to invasion by mass standards.

The question is whether, given such attachments, such diversity of values, and such selective class-based support, an organization devoted to the fine arts is able to survive and maintain its standards. The organization studied has survived, continues to expand, evidences an increase in the quality of many of its activities while at the same time being conscious of problems in quality-control and goal-setting for the organization. Absence of complete class support and homogeneity of values are not, therefore, sufficient conditions for the dissolution of the fine arts.

The critics of modern culture also argue that if differentiated classes are no longer capable of supporting different cultures, then, in modern society, elites drawn from the various institutional sectors must support a homogeneous set of values to maintain the fine arts. The elites act as a substitute for the class support of the fine arts in earlier historical periods. Again homogeneity of values, no conflict of interests, similar attachments to the fine arts are stressed as the conditions for the survival of the fine arts. Data from this study suggest that elites no more share homogeneous values than do social classes. Members of the complementary organization of the Museum are drawn in part from the social and economic elites of the area; in addition some of the positions within the Museum's core organization are held by members of professional elites; other elites are represented among the membership and the artist community of the area. These members of elites, depending on their social and occupational positions, hold different sets of values regarding the fine arts and the function of the Museum. And again, support by the elites is not coterminous with the membership of the elites. Members of the political elite, for example, are unrepresented among

Museum supporters, while the social, cultural and business elites tend to contribute support for the Museum. Elites are neither as uniform in their attitudes nor as cohesive a social group as the critics would suggest; elites as a group neither share the same values nor support in their entirety the fine arts. According to the critics, such heterogeneity should spell the demise of quality and the organization; despite such conditions, however, the organization has survived, and there is evidence of improved quality in some areas and concern for quality at all levels of the organization.

Furthermore, conceptualizing support as either class- or elite-based does not seem adequately to reflect the empirical evidence. Most support comes from the upper-middle classes, yet only a minority within this class become Museum members and support the arts and the Museum. Knowledge of social class, then, yields little predictive power. Furthermore, knowledge of class position does not allow prediction of what kind of attachment to the arts or the Museum will predominate for the individual. Since almost all of the publics studied could be classified as upper-middle class, class itself does not discriminate among the various types of attachments, although certain variables somewhat related to class do aid such discrimination. Upper-middle class members belonging to a number of prestige organizations are likely to have an expressive attachment to the Museum and to art. Upper-middle class members with few organizational memberships are more likely to have instrumental attachments to the Museum and to art. Elite members also vary in the type of attachment to art and to the Museum depending upon which institutional sector they represent, cultural elites being more likely to support art and the Museum and more likely to evidence normative attachments. However, artists, art teachers, and those for whom art is a central life-value are likely to have a normative attachment to the Museum regardless of their class position.

Since suppprt of the arts and the Museum is limited to a minority of class members and elites, the conceptualization of such support using only such large-scale terms as "class" and "elite" is not helpful. And further, a theory which assumes that the arts can exist only with wide class and elite support must either be abandoned in favor of other hypotheses regarding the nature of support for the arts or supported by evidence verifying the decay of the arts in contemporary society. This latter point has been argued persistently throughout the centuries to no avail - the fine arts have endured. If it is accepted that the fine arts do survive in modern society, then some explanation other than that based on class or elite support must be sought.

I would argue that not only does the museum survive but, in general, the quality of exhibitions, collections, programming and professional expertise in museums the size of the one studied has improved over the past fifty years. The museum is, however, only one organizational form in the highly complex substructure of the fine arts today. In contrast to the critics of mass culture, whose judgments about the condition of the fine arts are global, I would suggest that no global statements about the conditions of the fine arts can be made. However, if it can be demonstrated that one organizational form devoted to the fine arts survives and even improves the quality of its wares, some hesitancy about accepting a theory which predicts the total eclipse of the arts in contemporary society is warranted.

Even this task - demonstrating that the organization, while surviving, has improved or at least maintained the quality of its presentation - is difficult. It is difficult because the standards by which quality is identified, if identified at all, differ among the critics and because the organization is inherently complex, thereby making simple judgments about the quality of its performance impossible. The argument of the critics concerning the organization of the arts tends to be simplistic: power is vested in the hands of either the elites or the masses; control is either of the elites by the masses or of the masses by the elites. A fine-arts organization is, by extension, dominated by either elites or masses; and usually both elites and masses sell out to mass standards within contemporary society.

There is no evidence that the Museum as an organization is used or controlled by the elites or the masses of the area. Elite control is limited; the impact of anything vaguely resembling "the masses" or the general public is virtually non-existent. The organization is complex enough that at least three distinct organizational levels must be distinguished - the core, the complementary and the professional. And none of these levels can be characterized as dominated by either elites or masses or as representative of either elites or masses. The complementary organization, it is true, is self-selecting and self-perpetuating. The stress on informal criteria relating to high social status for selection is far more widespread than most of those interviewed in the study were willing to admit; the complementary organization relies heavily for its membership on the social and business elites of the area. Even if it were to be granted that these higher-status members of the complementary organization also represented "mass tastes," there would be no evidence of control by the complementary organization, control by the elites, or the "massification" of the Museum organization. This study has offered sufficient evidence of the limited influence of the complementary organization on the Museum - an influence which is as much self-limiting as imposed from other sources.

Furthermore, even if the membership of the Museum were to be conceptualized as "the audience" and characterized as having "mass tastes," this part of the formal organization of the Museum cannot be said to dominate the organizational structure. I am not prepared to characterize either the membership or the complementary organization members as "mass" in their tastes or style of life - that question was not essayed in this research. I am prepared to maintain, however, that neither part controls or has a predominant influence in the organization of the Museum. If there are "mass" influences in the Museum, they must originate in other sources.

The organization of the Museum represents a shifting balance and negotiation between and among various parts of the organization and the different values and attitudes of the participants. There are both professional and lay members involved in the organization; there are both professional and lay departments within the core organization; within the total organization there are both predominantly professional and lay segments, conceptualized here as the core and the complementary organizations.

The values of the professional members are demonstrably complex. These values include a general world view, part of which is described here as the "rhetoric," and two different levels of operational concern for the professional - the highly visible public-oriented responsibilities and the less visible profession-oriented services and tasks. While professional viewpoints dominate the core organization, there are still inherent differences because the professional values themselves are often in conflict. The professionals themselves stand in the best position to dominate the organization - a situation seen by the critics as inherently damaging to quality and standards. "Professionalization" of the arts, in the theory of the critics, means sterile academicism and the bureaucratization of the arts and of organizations devoted to them. However, while the professionals tend to set the tone of the Museum, that tone is not homogeneous and uniform. There is no single "party line" among professionals.

In addition, the professionals by no means take advantage of their position to dominate the organization effectively. A factor which could operate to their advantage in controlling the Museum is the acceptance by the general public and the complementary organization of the professional as the expert who "should" make the major decisions about policy when such decisions relate to professional matters. The complementary organization, the general membership, and the artists and craftsmen are unanimous in supporting the professional. The professionals, however, are convinced of the weakness of their position for making policy decisions and of the effectiveness of the complementary organization in determining policy. Neither the core nor the complementary organization effectively plays the decision-making role; and there is, as a result, a policy vacuum for the entire organization. Such a policy vacuum weakens the organization so that it cannot effectively consider policy changes or long-range plans.

The reasons for the misinterpretation of their power by the professionals are complex. In part, the professional rhetoric is a strong support for the professional's negative attitudes toward members of the complementary organization. The rhetoric often sounds like a parody of part of the mass-culture theory - that part which maintains that the social elites support the arts for the sake of prestige and glamor and undermine organizations by their snobbery and their taste for kitsch or the avant garde. The snobbism of such a group is seen as undermining the "democratic" direction and purposes of the Museum, as set by the rhetoric. Another factor is the complexity of the professional goals and the unwillingness of the professionals to face the inherent conflicts (the public and professional orientations) and the conflicts with the professional rhetoric. Were such conflicts to surface, the latent cleavages between departments and between Director and staff would also surface. The limitations set by lack of time and money, while offering handy rationalizations for the absence of policy confrontation, are nevertheless real. Too many tasks are assumed - a situation which could be altered by policy changes. And too many priorities are decided on the basis of funding difficulties. However, within the organization all departments do not suffer to the same degree. Education and curatorial tasks suffer the most; the first by unwieldy growth and the second by starvation. Public services tend to be given priority over profession-oriented tasks. Consequently the exhibition policy of the Museum is well thought of, the quality ranked high by many experts, and the general pleasure derived seen as satisfactory by almost all members of the publics consulted in this study.

The structure of the core organization also contributes to the complexity of the problem and to the limiting of a purely professional control of the Museum. Departments vary according to whether their tasks are public- or profession-oriented or whether they are lay or professional. Public funding of the Museum guarantees the concern for public-oriented services and tasks, and this guarantee is enforced both by the professional departments concerned with exhibitions and education and by the lay departments of membership and public relations. Public funding and the presence of lay departments tend to make the neglect of the profession-oriented departments (curatorial and collections) inevitable when priorities must be assigned according to scarce funds. The professional quality of tasks which are primarily visible only to the professional thus suffers - but not in silence, for this conflict becomes central to much staff criticism and concern. The staff is easily polarized between those who would maintain the quality of all performances and those who, implicitly or explicitly, would sacrifice the non-public services of the Museum. At the same time the professional and the complementary organization become polarized on a different interpretation of the same issue; the complementary organization, understanding less of the invisible tasks, emphasizes the public-orientation of the Museum while the staff opts, now, for the more invisible profession-oriented tasks.

Both the staff and the complementary organization are convinced that public service is the only way to justify public funding. There is a concern for "giving the public something for its money" and a feeling that without this "gift" or return on its investment, the public would show no interest in the Museum. Furthermore, the staff is convinced that the complementary organization and the membership desire the social services offered by the Museum - the teas, the galas, the openings. The staff misreads public attitudes toward the social services of the Museum. While members of the complementary organization attend social events fairly regularly, they judge such events as unimportant compared to other Museum services and responsibilities. Among other publics the judgment is also uniform - such events are unimportant - and attendance is rare.

There is evidence from this research that the staff's attitudes are not altogether justified. The Museum of Photography, with ample funds, concentrates almost entirely on profession-oriented services. The exhibitions are staged more for an international audience of experts than for the general public; there are only rare social events which open the Museum doors to teas, parties or galas; there is little concern for education except at the professional level. However, data collected for this study indicate that this museum is more frequently visited, even without large-scale public announcement in the local press, by all the different audiences than other museums and cultural centers in the area. Furthermore, all publics - professional, artist-craftsmen, general - were unanimous in noting the high quality of this museum's presentations.

If it is granted that the Museum could not function as an organization devoted to the arts without the work of its professionals, and if it is also granted, for the moment, that the professionals carry out their functions with a primary concern for the standards of the arts and the maintenance of quality, then the professionals are key personnel in the social structure of the arts. With them rest the concerns of preserving, collecting, exhibiting and educating - prime concerns for maintaining and supporting the arts within the society. The important questions regarding these professionals concern the extent to which they are protected from the depredations of elites and masses and the extent to which elites and masses are protected from the smothering control of the professionals. Both questions are posed by the critics' tenet that both the insulation of key personnel within the cultural institutions and the protection of audiences have to be achieved for the cultural institutions to be healthy.

The formal and informal organization of the Museum and its social environment contribute aspects of protection for professional, audience and elites. The professional is protected from control by outsiders by his profession and by the public legitimation of that profession. The work demands expertise; few without specific training can qualify. Such training and expertise tend to isolate and to unify those who practice the profession. Informal and formal barriers are erected to protect the ordained from those not initiated. A specific locus of the work - the Museum - sets up rigidly delineated staff and public areas; informal restrictions are established which separate those "in the know" from those excluded.

At the same time the expertise of the professional is widely enough recognized that publics and elites, general members and complementary organization members, artists and craftsmen all legitimate the role of the museum worker. The consequence of this public legitimation is to grant the professional wide autonomy to practice his craft without supervision or interference.

The professional is further protected by the operation of several informal factors from members of elites who participate in the Museum either as general members or as members of the complementary organization. The members of the complementary organization, both elite and non-elite, are only indifferently attached to art as a value and participate only very segmentally in Museum activities. Members of the elites in the complementary organization do not exercise the limits of their authority within the Museum because they are not that committed either to art or to the Museum. Consequently restraints on the degree of participation by the complementary organization are largely self-imposed. Furthermore most such members of the Museum are characterized by expressive attachments to the Museum rather than normative. Expressive attachments are manifest in the greater interest shown by these members in the social activities and services of the Museum. However, while the complementary organization members enjoy such activities, they do not insist on their importance for the Museum, ranking them below the public-oriented professional services. Throughout the years the social services offered by the Museum have gradually been whittled away - today few remain compared to the rich social life of the Museum of twenty years ago. The professional code does not support such activities except to a minimal degree; members of the complementary organization and the general membership have been educated to respect the professional code in these matters and to conform in their ranking of such activities to the professional staff's values.

The museum worker is also protected from the control of the elites by the development of the profession of museology and by both the code and the rhetoric of the profession. In the past fifty years the kind of expertise demanded by curatorial, exhibition, and even educational departments within the museum has developed to the extent that the sophisticated dilettante can no longer hope to hold his own against the professionally trained worker. Both the quality of the training and expertise and the professional-rhetoric prejudice against the social elite work to curb the socially prominent dilettante's entry into the professional world except in unusual cases. In the United States a few members of the leisure class do hold museum positions, without compensation; these individuals are usually recognized as experts within the field of art history; they qualify as professionals and dedicate their services and expertise to the museum as professionals and not as volunteers. Members of the complementary organization of the Museum legitimate the professional's expertise by their willingness to discriminate between professional and non-professional areas of decision-making and power. Matters relating to the selection, maintenance, and exhibition of art works and to education in art are regarded as areas of professional concern; and little authority over such matters is desired by members of the complementary organization.

The profession is also insulated from the public. Professional status and the aura of dignity and of the esoteric serve to isolate the professional from the lay public. Public intrusions into the "sanctum sanctorum" of the professional areas of the Museum are virtually nonexistent. The Museum itself is a building of vast dignity and a certain aloofness; the inner offices of both the professional and non-professional staff are protected by a number of devices - a receptionist funnels all public contacts except those of the inner circle of select outsiders, a switchboard serves as a barrier between the inner and outer realms, professional staff areas are often without public notice since names are not placed on doors, and departments are not labeled. The public is welcomed only to the public areas, not to the private professional areas of the Museum.

There are several factors which, ideally, should protect the audiences' interests in the Museum and restrain the professionals from asserting total domination of the organization. The public-orientation of the profession, the democratic rhetoric of the professional ethos, and the public funding of the Museum should help protect the organization from domination by professional cliques or fads. Commitment to the community role of the Museum and the necessity of public good will if the funds are to be raised sensitizes the professionals to the needs and desires of the various publics, thereby protecting these publics from the complete sacrifice of their interests in the Museum.

There are factors which also operate to protect the members of elites associated with the Museum and the complementary organization from complete domination by the professionals. The services rendered by the complementary organization and by members of elites called to support the Museum in times of crisis are important enough to the professionals to make consideration of these persons mandatory. The Museum staff itself cannot render these services; it has neither the authority, the status, nor the power to do so. The services are nevertheless so essential that alienating these key persons would be suicidal for the Museum and the profession. Consequently some balance between the interests of such persons and the goals of the Museum must be sought - and that balance is usually found in the continuation of certain social services and the community role of the Museum.

Ideally, then, the formal and the informal structure and values of the Museum insulate the professionals and protect the members of elites, the complementary members and the audiences from domination. Ideally, a balanced relation among elites, audiences, and the organization is possible for the Museum and for the professionals. The Museum is potentially an organization of the type which the critics claim is essential if the conditions for healthy cultural institutions are to be met.

The critics of contemporary culture view organizations devoted to the fine arts with concern and disapprobation. Few alternatives exist for such organizations, according to these critics; and these few all contribute to the general debilitating effects of such organizations on the quality of culture and the fine arts. Instead of educating, such organizations brain-wash or entertain; instead of supporting the fine arts, the professionals of such organizations contribute to their academicism - the poverty of professionalization. The contribution of elites to such organizations is social snobbery; the contribution of the masses as they are incorporated as audiences is the "massification" of the tastes and interests of the organization. Quality becomes the central concern for the critics, but without any adequate detailing of the indicators by which quality is to be judged, the organizational bases which support quality performances or make them impossible, or those aspects of the professional roles which support or detract from the possibility of quality performances. On the whole, the critics simply assert that quality performance is, if not impossible, more and more difficult given the conditions of contemporary society.

It is a very different matter to study a single organization in order to essay some evaluation of those factors which support and those which pose problems for quality performances. However, within the course of this research some factors were discerned which seem to mitigate the loss of quality and to encourage the maintenance of standards and good performance. There are two general factors which contribute to the maintenance of standards - the professional ethos and the professional organization of the Museum. Neither of these contributes solely and purely to only the maintenance of standards; once again, the effects are complex.

The professional ethos has been detailed as a rather complex blend of rhetoric and professional standards. The standards apply to the quality of performance, to the relations among participating groups within the Museum and the art world, and to the role of the organization. They can be divided, by and large, into two different kinds of tasks relating to the Museum - the public-oriented and the profession-oriented services and responsibilities. The balance of these tasks within any single organization depends more on the supply of necessary and available funds than it does on any value-preference of the professional staff - given their ideal museum, staff members would opt as much for profession-oriented as for public-oriented responsibilities. In fact, there is evidence that their real "heart's desire" would be the profession-oriented because they link such responsibilities with greater professional prestige. The problem for a publicly funded organization is controlling the spread of activities - a spread which is commensurate with the desperate hunt for funds. The Museum too easily burdens itself with increased activities without increasing the staff necessary for the continuation of high-quality performances. Consequently, within the Museum the stress on high-status professional goals - ties with the University, publications and research - forms a balance and a constant source of pressure to maintain quality for the entire organization and acts as a brake on the increasing of staff responsibilities for public services. When enough dissatisfaction is generated because profession-oriented responsibilities suffer, changes are made - public services are curtailed.

The professional rhetoric, with its emphasis on the democratic participation of the masses, on the regeneration of public taste, on the elevation of public attitudes toward art, poses a different kind of problem. Of all aspects of the professionalization of the Museum, this one seems most open to the charges of fadism or cultism. Gimmicky attempts to raise the interest level of the public are most compatible with this part of the professional ethos - they are foreign to the profession- and public-orientation of the ethos. Such an impetus is controlled by the lack of complete acceptance of the rhetoric by all professional staff members and by certain operationally established policies of the Museum. Operationally, the Museum does not define its audience in mass terms - the audience does not exist as a reality for the Museum. Instead, the conception of many discrete, separate and individually serviced audiences is the basis for the establishment of services and responsibilities. Even exhibitions, while planned for a more general audience, are also viewed as a means of serving more specific groups - there are those exhibitions planned primarily for local audiences, for professional art audiences, for the learned in art and for those just being initiated. The exhibition program is complex enough to encompass this kind of diversity. The education program also is geared to encompass diverse levels of art interest and differentiated audiences. In fact, I can think of no offering of the Museum designed for a "general" audience, for the "mass" audience. Operationally, then, the rhetoric is defeated, although remaining a potent source of conflict within the organization and for the goals and values of the Museum.

Over time, the professionalization of the Museum has increased the scope of profession-oriented responsibilities and reduced the number of social services performed by the organization. Because of the public funding, the public-oriented tasks have also increased over time; and the professional rhetoric has also worked to increase this kind of responsibility within the Museum. The quality of performance is disturbed not so much by the process of professionalization per se - the push of the professional ethos and rhetoric to greater public service - as by the combination of this ethos with the consistent funding problem. However, if the ethos stressed only the profession-oriented tasks, given the need for public support, the conflict generated would undoubtedly rend the organization and reduce it to immobility. Nevertheless, the problem of public funding and the professional split between public- and profession-oriented responsibilities is the crux of whatever quality problems the Museum has.

The problem of quality is not a matter of "the public be damned" despite the use of this argument by professionals in organizations without a funding problem. The rhetoric has colored the arguments both for and against the concern for public audiences; and those in positions of organizational affluence are likely to use the rhetoric, negatively, to explain their success in quality performances without public-orientation. In the eyes of such professionals, public-orientation and profession-orientation are equated respectively with loss of quality and with high-quality performance. There is no inherent reason why public-oriented services cannot be also high-quality services, especially if audiences are not conceptualized in global terms. Again, the rhetoric more than any other factor increases the possibilities of quality problems with its global conception of the audience.

In general, I would maintain that the Museum as an organization devoted to the maintenance of the fine arts succeeds, in part, and has also increased the quality of its performance over time, in part. This suggests, in small measure, that the prognosis of the critics is overly pessimistic. Yet it does not preclude the possibility of problems inherent in both the organizational form and the direction of the professional ethos, particularly the rhetoric. The analysis suggests a complex balancing of interests, norms and forms which tend to make the organization viable and the quality of performance acceptably high - a balance still capable of being disturbed with a consequent loss of viability and quality.

Appendix I

A Non-Random Sample of Bibliographic Entries from the Professional Journals

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Appendix II

SYMPOSIUM ON THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ROLE OF MUSEUMS

Sponsored by the French National Commission of UNESCO and
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PROJECT FOR AN OUTLINE OF THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE SYMPOSIUM.

The present document attempts to bring together under one systematic form, the principal elements of the thinking which came out of the discussions of the Symposium. When it will have been amended and adopted by the Symposium, an editor will give their final form to the conclusions while developing each point in summary while inserting in places extracts of the reports presented and by adding a brief review of the principal comments.

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I. EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL MISSIONS OF THE MUSEUM.

1. The museum must be teacher. It teaches the visitor to see, it develops his sensitivity, it aids him to understand.
2. The Museum ought to develop the individual and to integrate him into the human community. This action will take different forms: to bind the visitor to traditions of his past, to enable him to become acquainted with his future, to arouse and to reenforce his national conscience, to encourage an international understanding by a better knowledge of other cultures and societies. The experience of a Gallery of Western Culture in New Delhi ought to be encouraged.
3. The museum must equally be a place for pleasure. It will succeed in doing it by offering a vast field to effort freely given, in disclosing emotion and esthetic pleasure, in permitting a refreshment in the midst of daily life.

II. FUNDAMENTAL CONDITIONS OF ACTION FOR A MUSEUM TOWARDS THE PUBLIC.

In order to fulfill its educational and cultural mission, museums ought to take into consideration a certain number of conditions.

1. The museum must direct itself to the whole public. Always as it is necessary it ought to bring into play the social cultural composition of its public, especially that of the population to which it addresses itself.
2. The museum ought very strictly adapt its action and its programs
   a. to the nature and wealth of its collections;
   b. to the socio-cultural level and to the needs of its public determined by modern methods of evaluation and testing;
   c. to the needs of future evolution of the individual and of society (determined by prospective methods).

3. The museum must spread its welcome. It is advisable to do that by suppressing the didactic restraints and the character of a sanctuary of the spirit reserved to an elite which risks frightening the public at large.
4. The museum ought to facilitate by all means free contact between visitors and the object.
5. The museum must respect the object. The obligations of science and of conservation require it.

III. MEANS OF ACTION

1. The educational and cultural role of the museum will be in large part the function of initial choices:
    a) The choices of program for permanent exhibition, keeping in mind the different requirements of the public at large (galleries of synthesis) and of certain categories of visitors (galleries for teaching purposes, collections of objects for study purposes);
    b) Choice of objects to be presented according to the joint criteria of esthetic, representative or functional value and of evocative value.
2. Great care must be given to the arrangement of the galleries and the presentation of the collections;
    a) Circulation of visitors should be clearly thought out and even sometimes indicated leaving at the same time freedom for the visitor;
    b) furniture, decoration, and disposition of the objects will be attractive without harming the scientific strictness necessary;
    c) the explanatory panels, the labels and the documentary material should be simple, discreet, easily read and concise.
3. The museum, in order to be living, ought to make appeal to the animation media, the educational role of which is essential:
    a) Guided visits will make appeal to the active participation of visitors allowing them a certain freedom; children will be encouraged to take part in controlled activities both educational and entertaining (sketches, notes, compositions, etc...);
    b) Audio-visual means will be used as auxiliaries of presentation (films, projections, recordings) or as means of guiding(introduction to the visitor, radio-guiding);
    c) temporary exhibitions will increase and renew interest in the museum in extending the field covered by the museum's own collections. Traveling exhibitions will make the museum known to the outside, as much to the academic public and to the public at large. Mobile museums are an excellent means of getting the museum spread abroad.
    d) Various activities organized in the plan of the museum will attract certain categories of visitors and will complement the action of the museum in depth: lectures, sessions of projected slides, concerts.
4. The right of all persons of visiting the museum ought to be recognized. Measures ought to be taken in museums in this regard by those administering the museum so that the museum hours of opening are adapted to the leisure hours of the public at large.

5. Modern means of publicity ought to be utilized in order to make the museum known to the public, information publications, posters...

IV. STAFF RESPONSIBLE FOR EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ACTION.

1. The scientific personnel (curators, directors,...) must conceive and orient the general action of the museum near its public: program, presentation, temporary exhibitions. It ought also to participate in the training of the educational personnel and to collaborate in its activities.
2. The educational personnel attached to the museum should profit from the equivalent qualifications and responsibilities, the same as those of the scientific personnel. It ought to fulfill three principal requirements:
   a) To possess a profound knowledge of the museum, of its collections and of the basic scientific discipline of that particular museum;
   b) to have received an adequate pedagogic training;
   c) to be at the service of the public, that is to say, to know how to adapt, to bring about dialogue, to awaken the sensibility of the visitors.
3. Outside educational personnel ought to supply and re-enforce the the specialized personnel attached to the museum. Recruited in the teaching establishments, in cultural institutions, among students, it ought to receive a special training, aiming to learn from and utilize as well as possible the museum's resources.

V. SUPPORTS OF EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ACTION

1. Each important museum ought to have a cultural or educational service of its own, the importance of which is the tasks of the museum, of its programs and of the number of visitors. The tasks of this service are to cooperate with the scientific personnel and to organize together educational and scientific activities of the museum, notably:
   a) animation in the museum
   b) traveling exhibitions
   c) relations with outside bodies and the public
   d) museum publicity and publications of a popular nature.

Museums of importance ought to have a cultural responsibility, undertaking these same tasks.

2. The museum ought to offer its aid under the best conditions to teaching institutions. Their cooperation will take the form perhaps of a visual illustration of lessons planned within the framework of the teaching programs, and it ought to be a contribution to the development of the general culture of the pupils. The museum can also undertake a network of connections in the schools; it is able equally to undertake action aiming to inform teachers and educational sources.
3. Professional organizations and institutions of popular education are the indispensable connections of the museum, in its cultural action.
   a) Labor unions are the intermediaries between the world of workers and the museum; with them, as with the cultural associations, common programs will be established (organized visits to the museum, lectures, loan exhibitions)

   - b) Clubs ought to be created in the museum or outside the museum for specialists of all levels desiring to utilize the museum's collections in order to develop their own knowledge;
   - c) Cultural centers or Houses of Culture are the ideal intermediary between the museum and the public. Both institutions, although complementary, ought to be separated.

4. Modern means of information allow the public to be put directly in contact with the collections of the museum, to draw out from them, and to show the secrets of history... Publications of dissemination, the press, movies and television as well are vehicles of cultural action of museums, in giving to them an attractively spectacular character.

VI. KNOWLEDGE OF THE PUBLIC- EVALUATION

1. Each museum ought to disseminate its own statistics, taken daily and utilized in view of a more efficient cultural action. Statistics are an essential element of gaining knowledge of the public. A member of the museum personnel ought to have it in charge.
2. Museums ought to make use of specialists in studies of the public and especially sociologists.
   - a) It should be made quite clear that the director is responsible for the operation of the museum.
   - b) Sociologists are able to assist responsible museum staff members in the establishment of the program and in the cultural policy of the museum.
   - c) They are able to undertake at the request of the museum, and in collaboration with it, surveys of the public.

VII. NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ACTION

1. It is essential that a coherent national policy of cultural action be undertaken in each country; the elements of such a policy might be furnished by:
   - a) surveys of the public carried out in all the museums of each country by competent persons and according to rigid methods;
   - b) work meetings in which exchanges of views at the national level, grouping together persons responsible for the educational action of museums, sociologists, psychologists and teachers.
2. It is desirable that UNESCO start to consider museums as educational instruments and as privileged auxiliaries of institutions of school teaching and post-school teaching.
3. It is recommended to UNESCO
   - a) to bring about as soon as feasible the creation of a new international Committee for Education and for cultural action in museums;
   - b) to encourage its international committees, interested to study within the framework of their specialties the particular problems concerning educational and cultural action as well as bringing about pilot studies in their respective areas;
   - c) to accord a special importance to the work sessions which will have the responsibility for the training of the educational personnel of museums, at the time of ICOM 65;

d) to study the means which offer themselves for resolving on an international plan two problems which appear as liable to shackle the establishment of a doctrine of educational and cultural action of museums:
  - the writing down of a definition in several languages of the technical vocabulary employed in the world of museums,
  - the working out of standards to be applied in the writing of questionnaires for surveys on the museum public;

e) to pursue the elaboration of an international doctrine of education and of cultural action in museums;

f) to undertake a study of audio-visual aids for museums;

g) to undertake a study of the training of museologists by universities;

h) to undertake a standardization of museum statistics.

APPENDIX

The above conclusions having a general character, it has not been possible to include among them certain conclusions of the symposium which concerned a particular problem of such and such a category of museums. One will find these below:

I. MUSEUMS OF ARTS

1. These museums have for their mission the formation of taste and the esthetic sensibility of the visitor. Their role will be then to facilitate to the greatest extent the establishment of a contact between a work of art and the visitor.
2. The visitor ought to be allowed to be particularly free.
3. The guide lecturers ought to be capable of:
   a) awakening the esthetic emotion of the visitor
   b) only to intervene discretely before a group with the purpose of allowing dialogue to be established as freely as possible between the work of art and the public.
4. Museums of art being too often still considered as accessible only to an educated public, it is right to undertake a particularly energetic action to draw the less cultured public, especially by the organization of exhibitions in their places of work and in institutions of popular culture.

Appendix III, "The Fine Art of Being a Trustee," by Eloise Spaeth, was deleted due to copyright restriction. It appeared in the Sunday New York Times, June 20, 1965, Section 2, p. 21.

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